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## Slavs and Germans: Hatred or Cooperation?

EMIL L. JORDAN

*New Jersey College for Women, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey*

### I

Hatred and violence determine the mental atmosphere of eastern Europe. Traveling in that part of the globe between the First and the Second World Wars, one heard a never ending stream of complaints. Every nation charged her neighbors with trickery, pointing to the frequent violations of the original post-war settlement (the conquest of Russian territory west of the Curzon line, the annexations of Vilna and Memel, and finally the partition of Czechoslovakia); of the "impossible conditions" that resulted from these actions; and of many of the disastrous consequences of the Versailles treaty even where no legal violations were involved.

Along the Vistula River between Poland and East Prussia, all landowners were badly harassed because the Treaty of Versailles had placed the borderline not in the middle of the river (as is the custom everywhere else in the world where rivers form frontiers) but about 100 yards inland along the right bank; naturally this frontier cut through hundreds of East Prussian farms which now belonged partly to Poland and partly to Germany, a condition out of which no end of administrative hardships resulted. On the northern frontier of East Prussia a prosperous lumber industry with doz-

ens of large saw mills had operated on the Memel River (called Njemen beyond German territory) until 1918, using timber from the Polish forests upstream; on huge rafts the timber was floated down to the lumberyards near the mouth of the river. However, since 1919 the whole sawmill industry of that region had been bankrupt and abandoned. The Poles would still have liked to sell their lumber, but since the Memel River for a stretch flows through Lithuanian territory, and since the Lithuanians are the arch enemies of the Poles, no Polish timber was allowed to cross Lithuanian soil; thus trade stopped, industries were abandoned, and thousands of people became impoverished. Tales of this type could be multiplied; at the time they seemed to reflect a chronic state of misunderstanding and mismanagement. Yet today, the hardships they related seem ridiculously pale and trifling in comparison with the war which resulted from this friction and with Germany's unbelievably cruel treatment of the Poles.

Under these circumstances it seems almost absurd to preach harmony and cooperation between Germans and Slavs. Yet the records show that aversion to each other is neither a historical nor a natural condition. Prior to the partition of Poland which set off a wave of hatred and suspicion that is still alive, there

lay centuries of collaboration and common achievement, and of a thorough and beneficial mixing of Slavic and Germanic blood. Either this early trend will be resumed, and the present spirit completely changed, or Eastern Europe will collapse in chaos.

## II

In the history of the Eastern Germans their thorough blending with Slavic blood is the outstanding development. It was brought about without anybody planning it. Until the fifth century Germanic tribes had lived in what is now eastern Germany up to the Vistula and Pregel rivers. When under the pressure of the Huns and for other reasons the great migrations began to rock Europe and destroy the Roman Empire, the western German tribes remained at home, but all the German tribes east of the Elbe river left their country lock, stock and barrel for sunnier lands in the Balkans, Italy and Spain. For a short while their territory which is now eastern Germany, remained empty; then it acted as a vacuum that attracted the neighboring Slavs. The latter filtered in, settled here, tilled the land for 800 years, and naturally considered it their own.

In the eleventh century the Germans began their eastward expansion which they called a "reconquest," in view of the fact that in semi-prehistoric times the Goths and Vandals had lived here. Starting from Magdeburg and a few other centers, German missionaries penetrated the eastern lands, made Christians of the Slavs, and were followed by merchants, settlers, and soldiers, in the approved pattern. On the whole this was a peaceful movement; under the guidance of the great religious orders the Slavs were not expelled, but intermingled with the new German settlers and formed a new people, half Slav, half German. In the process of civilizing the east the Slavs had laid the ground work. On the Spree river the Wends, close relatives of the Poles, had built a fishing village which they called Berlin and to which they now welcomed German settlers. To this day a purely Wendish cluster of villages has survived near Berlin in the isolated swampy woods of the Spree-wald, preserving the Wendish language and Wendish costumes.

There were other Slavic towns attracting Teutonic citizens right in the heart of the present-day Reich. One in the north was Lübeck, "the lovely one" in Wendish; south of Berlin a settlement had the name of Leipzig, an old Slavic expression meaning "Place of the linden trees." Not far away lay Dresden, which in Slavic signifies "people of the swampy woods."

Breslau was founded by the Slavic Duke Wratislaw I in the ninth century, and for seven centuries Slavic princes ruled Silesia, later to become Prussia's richest province. These Czech dukes actually called

large numbers of Germans into their territories to fill up thinly populated regions. Stettin and Danzig on the Baltic Sea were important Slavic capitals long before the first German missionaries arrived. The ancient Slavic castle in Stettin is still a landmark there, and the Slavic dukes of Mecklenburg even survived within the Reich till 1918, when Germany turned republican. During the pioneer period neither Wends nor Poles nor Czechs nor Germans felt to be of a distinct race or nationality that had to be kept "pure"; they collaborated in the task of clearing woods and building cities in an atmosphere of democratic pioneering that sometimes has been compared to the conquest of the American west. They intermarried freely and became a new people.

There was a give and take in many walks of life. The orderly Germans were by nature better farmers than the imaginative Slavs, and introduced many improvements in agriculture; yet the most important cereal of the region, rye, had first been cultivated by the Slavs (that of Germany's two great staple foods rye should be of Slavic and potatoes of American origin, throws an ironic sidelight on the Nazi gospel of autarchy). On the other hand the Slavs were more skillful craftsmen than the Germans, and for centuries whole Slavic (especially Czech) villages devoted themselves to the manufacture of copper goods, or tinware, or linen, or carved wooden articles; a part of the villagers worked at home, the others peddled the products throughout eastern Europe.

In this fashion colonization advanced eastward up to and including Pomerania in the north, Silesia in the south. Beyond that line it took a different turn: the Teutonic Order of Knights moved in, early in the thirteenth century, and conquered in a bloody war what is now the Polish Corridor, East Prussia, and the three Baltic states, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia.<sup>1</sup> The native peoples of this vast domain were not all Slavic; its heart was occupied by the Prussians, an Indo-European people that had neither Germanic nor Slavic affiliations. Of them nothing is left today but the name; according to German historians they "died out" during the war of conquest, probably in the same fashion in which the Polish Jews are dying out during World War II.

The Teutonic Order of Knights had been founded to fight in the Crusades; after the collapse of the Oriental campaign, the order looked for new fields of endeavor and, asked for help by some jealous Slav chieftains, decided upon an "eastern crusade," to Christianize the eastern heathens. In this process the Knights gained for themselves an empire that reached from the Pomeranian border to the Gulf of Finland. Everywhere in their domain, but especially

<sup>1</sup> The Baltic provinces were occupied by the Order of the Brothers of the Sword which later merged with the Teutonic Order.

in East Prussia they built their Gothic castles, fine, strong, earthbound structures in red brick, on hills along the rivers or on the sea, as nuclei for new towns. Many of these castles have survived astonishingly well; with their red contours against the light blue Baltic sky, they dominate the East Prussian landscape of today as they did in the times of the Knights. They represent 700 years of defiance against the Slavs and for all East Prussians are even now sentimental and emotional symbols of an intensity hardly understood by a new and "unencumbered" nation like ours.

Administratively the Teutonic Order of Knights pursued a policy that created a problem still unsolved. Into East Prussia proper they called thousands of settlers from all parts of Germany, even from Holland, so that the country was thoroughly Germanized. In West Prussia and the Baltic provinces, however, they were content to form the ruling class, own the land and have the Poles, Kaschubes, Masovians, Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians labor for them as serfs, so that these territories received only a very thin layer of German civilization.

In the middle of the fifteenth century Poland's power, combined with that of Lithuania, grew mightily while in the country of the Teutonic Order symptoms of a very un-Prussian decadence appeared; the Knights no longer cared much for war, hired mercenaries to do the fighting, and when the Order could not pay them, the hired soldiers revolted against their masters. Even the East Prussian cities banded together against the misrule of the Knights, forming the "Bund of Marienwerder," and joined the Poles in a war against the Order. Poland emerged completely victorious, and the Order lost all its lands with the exception of a considerably shrunken East Prussia where the Knights lived from now on, in rather reduced circumstances under a Polish protectorate. Since then the ethnic situation has remained fairly stable to our day: Germans live west of the Elbe, a mixed people composed of German and Slavic elements occupy the lands to the Polish corridor where the Slavs prevail, and then, far out in the east, the strongly Germanic island of East Prussia leads an isolated existence.

When the Reformation brought Protestantism to northern Europe, a monastic-military order had no place in the new religious faith; so on Luther's own advice the country of the Teutonic Order transformed itself into a worldly duchy called Prussia. The high master of the order crowned himself duke, and the Knights took over the large estates as hereditary properties. All married and founded families—this was the birthday of the Prussian Junker.

During the year of the conversion the high master happened to be a scion of the Hohenzollern family. That he became a hereditary duke was sheer luck not

only for him but also for his cousins in Berlin who inherited Prussia after his line had died out a few generations later. The Berlin Hohenzollerns, joined their "electorate" of Brandenburg with the duchy of Prussia, thought that the new power warranted a rise in rank and crowned themselves kings of Prussia. But only in the first partition of Poland in 1772 did they succeed in annexing the Polish corridor and thus building a land-bridge between their central German and their eastern possessions. This land-bridge was again removed in 1919, and in 1939 restored by Hitler; the future is uncertain.

As an example of the intricate question of political ownership of many parts of eastern Europe, the political record of the so-called Polish corridor may be outlined here in a somewhat simplified way, starting with the early Christian era:

A.D.	The Polish Corridor	Number of Years	
		German Territory	Slav Territory
1-400	German tribes	400	...
400-1220	Slavic peoples	...	820
1220-1466	Teutonic Order of Knights	246	...
1466-1772	Polish territory	...	306
1772-1919	Prussian territory	147	...
1919-1939	Polish territory	...	20
1939-1944	Reconquered by Germans	5	...
		798	1,146

This table cannot possibly prove any political claims; the various periods of ownership belong to such different cultural eras, ranging from uncivilized and semi-civilized times to our own machine age, that they cannot be compared. But one thing is surely shown by the table: the historical record cannot be a reliable basis for any post-war settlement.

Even East Prussia, which presents a solidly German front today, has varied political affiliations. From 1466 to 1660, i.e. for 194 years it was a Polish feudal state, owing loyalty not to the Holy Roman Empire, but to the Polish king; on the other hand it extended far into purely Polish territory after the three partitions of Poland, when even Warsaw was a Prussian city. These lands were ceded again by the decision of the Congress of Vienna which determined East Prussia's present boundaries. But even today, the 2,200,000 people of the province contain some 300,000 Masovians who are Slavs, and 100,000 Lithuanians who are neither Germans nor Slavs but an ancient Indo-European people who speak one of the most archaic languages in Europe. Since practically all of the Masovians and Lithuanians are "common people," i.e. peasants, wood cutters and fishermen, they have no voice whatever in the government; nevertheless the nazis wanted to eradicate any traces of potential non-German claims, and in 1938 renamed dozens of East Prussian villages and



towns which for centuries had had Polish or Lithuanian names. As new designations, the nazis chose intentionally inconspicuous and trivial German names to avoid any sensation; the change was carried out without fanfare or publicity.

### III

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries tens of thousands of Germans migrated to Poland and Russia. Many of them were called by the Eastern rulers, especially Catherine the Great who was a German princess herself. The principal task of these German settlers was the founding of model farming communities to spur the development of agriculture in the Volga basin and other fertile parts of Eastern Europe. Other thousands went to the eastern cities as merchants and craftsmen, and were among Russia's and Poland's first industrialists.

During the eighteenth century relations between Poles and Germans were close. For sixty years a personal union existed between Saxony and the eastern kingdom, and the Saxon kings with their brilliant court resided part of the time in Warsaw, part of the time in Dresden. Naturally Warsaw swarmed with Germans during this period, and Dresden with Poles. Dresden retained an important Polish colony even after the partitions, when it became a Polish revolutionary center.

These thousands of Germans scattered all over eastern Europe lived harmoniously with the Slavs and prospered. On the whole they were better off than their cousins in the Reich and never thought of returning; frequently they even looked down a little on the poor relatives in the west. Before the First World War the ethnographic map of eastern Europe showed a multiplicity of Germanic islands scattered over the broad Slavic population.

Since then, much has happened to these eastern German elements. World War I, the Bolshevik revolution, the mass migration schemes of Hitler, like the repatriation of the Baltic Germans, and the Second World War which prompted the Russians to take no chances and to resettle the Volga Germans in Siberia—all these events make it impossible even to estimate how many of the eastern Germans have perished, how many have been fully absorbed by the Slavs.

### IV

In search for a solution of the German-Slav problem, this article cannot suggest any "just" borderlines; but there might be a number of measures that

will slowly bring a pacification of this troublesome corner of the world. One prerequisite on which all seem to be agreed is the breaking of the Prussian spirit by dividing the large estates of the Junkers into small, individual farms. A similar measure, however, is also advocated for Poland where the land-holding aristocracy has been of exactly the same color as the Junkers. In fact, there was considerable social intercourse between the two groups, and intermarriages occurred often. If the clashing nationalisms frequently placed the Polish and the Prussian noblemen in opposing camps, they differed only as to the goals, not as to methods or mentality.

After this has been accomplished and governments which represent the masses of the people have been installed in the different eastern European countries, responsible representatives of the Russians, Poles, Czechs, Germans and the Baltic peoples should get together and thrash out their problems, in full realization of a number of facts. Among these are the following: that destiny has placed them together on a certain sector of the earth, and that they will have to stay there; that it is imperative to find a cooperative solution, or chaos and endless new wars will result; that all their mutual troubles are man-made, and that with sincere good-will on all sides a *modus vivendi* can be worked out; that the soil is fertile enough (though not abundantly so) and the natural resources and industrial resources are large enough in this region to build up for all a living standard that is considerably higher than the present one. Further, that it would be best to remember of the past not the destructive but the constructive periods: the time when Slavs and Germans formed a new people between Elbe and Oder and beyond; when Prussian cities (Danzig, Elbing, Königsberg, etc.) flourished under the Polish protectorate; when the Poles refrained from interfering in the internal Prussian administration while the Prussians paid their taxes regularly and never thought that they had to hate the Poles; when the Poles, devout Catholics themselves, readily agreed that the people in their Prussian protectorate embrace Protestantism while most western nations of Europe who looked down on the Poles as semi-barbarians, expelled the heretics or set the inquisition in motion; when thousands of German farmers, craftsmen and merchants fostered progress in agriculture, and industry all over eastern Europe without meddling in internal politics. All should realize that it is not the past that counts but the future.



# Education by Films in Canada

PAUL GORMLEY

*National Film Board of Canada, Ottawa, Canada*

There was a time, not so long ago, when the minds of a large number of Canadians living in rural sections of Canada were occupied mainly by news, problems and activities of significance only within the limited and comparatively isolated world of their own localities. But that day has gone. With the advent of the traveling film projectionist, the horizons of the rural Canadian mind have been pushed back; a new link, strong with an abundance of popular appeal, has been forged with the outside world.

From here on it would be well to remember that Canada is an immense land with all kinds of weather and a wide variety of terrain. It has areas where snow is but a passing inconvenience and others where snow remains the year around. There are massive mountains, vast prairies, lakes and rivers and the highways range from muddy side roads to ribbon-smooth stretches of concrete.

Keep that in mind when you learn of the Rural Circuit system of the National Film Board of Canada which takes the world in all its action and hubbub into the boundless areas outside the cities and provides the people of rural Canada with a detailed picture of what their fellow humans are about in

these chaotic times. Every month, seventy-nine operators transport complete projection equipment and film programs into those rural areas from coast to coast. Some have a minimum of trouble; others frequently have to resort to snowmobiles and skis to reach their anxious audiences. When it is realized that each operator services about twenty centers and maintains a regular schedule in each center, the efficiency of the Rural Circuits can be appreciated.

The National Film Board's Rural Circuit system is not just a frothy feature to provide entertainment for rural Canadians who otherwise would not have the opportunity to visit commercial film houses. Through these screenings the world as it writhes in battle and throbs with home front production and activity is taken to the people of rural Canada in sound and action. They see, at times, relatives in the thick of the fight, either blasting death and destruction at the enemy or skillfully making the weapons of war in factories and war plants across the nation.

Each of the seventy-nine operators carries a film program designed to last about one and a half hours. In the afternoon, he shows it to the school children right in the school. In the evening, the screening is

Posters hung in general stores, on town halls or tacked to garage doors announce the coming program of the Rural Circuits in Canada's country towns. A division of the National Film Board, these Circuits bring free motion pictures to almost a half million Canadians living in the far-flung rural communities across the Dominion. Seventy-nine projectionists, each serving twenty towns a month, return regularly with new film programs. Local residents look forward to the projectionist's monthly visit, and to making a real night of it.



*National Film Board Photo*

held for adults and takes place in any available space. Most frequently the town hall is used, but often it is an empty room over a store, a church hall or a vacant warehouse.

Across the Dominion the average audience totals each month about 350,000 people. The average monthly audience for each circuit ranges from 4,500 to 6,000. That these people are hungry for the news and views of the outside world is evident in the popularity of the scheme and in the magnificent co-operation they afford the projectionists.

For instance, an Ontario operator was delayed one night by snow storms and, although scheduled to begin his adult screening at eight o'clock, was unable to reach the town until shortly before midnight. He had given up all hope of finding an audience, and had decided upon going right to bed and leaving early on the following day for his next appointment. But his route took him past the town hall where he had been scheduled to appear and from the building shone bright lights and came the delicious odor of steaming coffee and sounds of many people enjoying themselves. He went in and discovered to his pride and amazement that his audience faithfully awaited him, having passed the time by dancing, games and refreshments. The show went on and finished hours later.

Odd, you say, that an hour and a half screening should take so long to complete. The screening is important, but what follows it is even more important. In fact it may be considered the most important, and probably the most amazing, part of the Rural Circuit system. After every screening in almost every center the audience remains seated, a chairman is selected from among them and a discussion ensues. Subjects dealt with on the screen are discussed to every one's full satisfaction. Sometimes the Board screens a special discussion trailer showing a panel forum group discussing a subject on the program, the trailer helping to get the audience discussion under way.

Before each month's program goes out, a small, neatly-arranged booklet is sent through the circuit to chairmen of discussion groups and teachers in schools. The booklet, entitled *Canada in Action*, sets out the month's program, reviews each film and calls attention to various points for which to watch, supplies additional information on the subjects brought up in the program and suggests discussion questions.

In the schools, these booklets, together with the films, have produced wonderful results. From the combination of book and screen, the children have developed a number of projects in the fields of painting, pencil drawing, essay writing, even dramatic



National Film Board Photo

As the film begins to roll, audience interest becomes immediately glued to the screen. Out of these showings have developed numerous school projects. Students submit essays spontaneously on what they have seen, often present sketches and paintings of past programs. Projectionists sometimes conduct quizzes.

playlet production, all based on the matter presented on the screen.

This Rural Circuit system has been in operation since January, 1943, when it was inaugurated with thirty mobile units. Today, with seventy-nine circuits in operation, the National Film Board has the extensive cooperation of a number of other organizations and groups. Only fifty-five rural circuits are financed by the Board, the other twenty-four being operated by such bodies as the United Farmers of Alberta, the Alberta Wheat Pool, Ukranian organizations, Royal Canadian Mounted Police Highway Patrols, Saskatchewan Wheat Pool, departments of education in various provinces, Canadian Forestry Association, Manitoba Wheat Pool, community co-operatives, colleges and universities, etc. At Barrie, Ontario, the Community Life Training Institute runs a circuit. Rev. Father Gustave Sauve of the University of Ottawa has his own. Another is carried on by the extension service of St. Francis Xavier University at Antigonish, Nova Scotia.

All these supplementary circuits are provided with the regular National Film Board monthly programs. This screen fare is designed at the Ottawa offices of the National Film Board to supply the rural Canadians with a wholesome and complete diet of information and pleasure. They include most of the

regular releases of the Board's two commercial features, the "Canada Carries On" and the "World In Action" series, which are released for non-theatrical distribution after they have been in the commercial theatres for six months. There are also a number of special films made for the rural circuits, touching on various items of interest such as canning, fuel, housing, conservation and the like. The Board also provides animated cartoons which primarily entertain but also carry a message to the audiences. There is a sing-song on every Rural Circuit program.

The effect of these bright, yet sincere, screen programs has been startling, particularly where they have taken the motion picture to areas where the people had never seen a film show. Once an operator went into a northern community and several of his audience sat down facing the projector, with their backs to the screen, expecting to see the pictures by looking into the lens.

In these places, the back-fence gossip about Mrs. Brown's new gingham or Hi Walker's new heifer has been replaced by sincere discussions on the blitz of Berlin and the chaos in Italy. The rural Canadian knows now what goes on across the world. Above all, he knows just how his individual home-front activity in producing food, meat, material of all kinds, fits into the general picture of Canada at war.



National Film Board Photo

In all shapes and sizes, the youngsters from neighbouring communities pour into the Town Hall for the afternoon movie show. One lad has a game leg, but that can't keep him away. Once inside, they will watch intently, howl with laughter, follow with wonder the happenings on the screen. In some communities, Rural Circuit screenings were the first motion pictures some of the adults as well as the children had ever seen.



# Revised Historical Viewpoints

RALPH B. GUINNESS

Franklin K. Lane High School, Brooklyn, New York

## THE MEXICAN WAR AND EXPANSION<sup>1</sup>

The slavocracy has been acquitted of the charge of having conspired to precipitate the Mexican War. But the belief still persists that it aimed to take over all Mexico once the war was won. The opposite is true. Calhoun and other southern leaders during the latter part of the war were opposed to further expansion, while northern anti-slavery leaders pressed claims to all of Mexico.

Slavery thus does not seem to have been the dominant issue in the closing days of the war. Expansionist ideals were dominant. With the continued defeat of the Wilmot Proviso, only the issue of expansion seemingly remained. The expansionists of the North and Northwest in advocating the absorption of Mexico declared that slavery could not exist there because of legal and economic considerations and hence Mexico would be an exit through which slaves in the United States would disappear.

The new trend of opinion with regard to the war and expansion appeared in the summer of 1847, when Secretary of State Buchanan, Vice-President Dallas and Senator Cass announced their opposition to the Wilmot Proviso. Cass felt that the people in the new territory would determine the slavery issue by the principle of popular sovereignty. Cass and Dallas publicly advocated the taking of Mexico. The expansionists were most numerous in New York where economic advantages were foreseen, and in the West where Manifest Destiny was a household god.

In the Congress, which met in December 1847, the leading expansionists were Senators Dickinson and Dix of New York, Hannegan of Indiana, Cass of Michigan, Allen of Ohio, Breese and Douglas of Illinois, Atchison of Missouri, Foote and Davis of Mississippi, and Houston and Rusk of Texas. The fight against expansion was led by pro-slavery Democrats such as Calhoun, Holmes, Butler, Meade and Hunter.

The Whigs also continued their opposition to expansion. The southern Whigs who were the larger number of slave-holders opposed expansion. Gadsden, too, spoke out against further expansion. Calhoun's correspondence reveals the pro-slavery Democrat and Whig reasons for opposition. They alleged that conquest was immoral and unjust; that the absorption of large numbers of ignorant Mexicans

would weaken and destroy the Union; that England and France might intervene, especially if the whole Mexican debt of \$100,000,000 was not assumed. Their real objection seems to have been a fear that Mexico would come in as free territory. Campbell of Alabama, who later participated in the Dred Scott decision, declared Mexico unfit for a Negro population and hence any absorption would increase the power of the non-slaveholding states. *The National Era*, anti-slavery newspaper in Washington, came to favor the acquisition of Mexico as a deadly blow against slavery. The myth of a pro-slavery drive for Mexico is based on anti-slavery Whig sources. At the same time the Whigs were divided among themselves for such anti-slavery Whigs as Giddings, Hale, Tuck, Palfrey, Sumner and others persisted in their fight against the Mexican War.

There is further proof that the interests of slavery and expansion were not identical. George Hatcher, a northern clergyman, wrote Calhoun on January 5, 1848 that northern anti-slavery men who were not abolitionists, were advocating extensive annexation as a means of weakening slavery by extending it over a greater area. The newspaper, *The National Era*, in February 1848, abandoned its earlier opposition to expansion and began to advocate the absorption of all of Mexico. It declared that such annexation would erect a permanent bar to the extension of slavery since Mexico was unsuited to slave labor and its population was hostile to it. This all-Mexico demand collapsed with the presentation of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. If there had been sufficient time this northern and western demand for all Mexico might have wrecked the treaty except for the opposition of the pro-slavery Democrats led by Calhoun.

## THE CHURCHES AND THE MEXICAN WAR<sup>2</sup>

During the Mexican War the American churches expressed various shades of opinion concerning it. A study of resolutions by official bodies, sermons and the editorials of denominational papers reveal some as non-committal, some as anti-war and some as very pro-war.

Many Protestant sources predicted that Catholics would be traitors in a war against a Catholic country. However, this was not the case. The Sixth Provincial Congress in its Pastoral Letter reminded all Catholics

<sup>1</sup> John D. P. Fuller, "The Slavery Question and the Movement to Acquire Mexico, 1846-1848," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXI (June, 1934), 31-48.

<sup>2</sup> Clayton Sumner Ellsworth, "The American Churches and the Mexican War," *American Historical Review*, XLV (January, 1940), 301-326.

that obedience to the Pope was not inconsistent with civil allegiance and duty. The four diocesan papers of New York, Boston, Cincinnati and St. Louis declared it was the patriotic duty of all citizens to support the war. Several Catholic papers of Pittsburgh, Philadelphia and Louisville, condemned those churches that favored the war as a means of proselytizing Mexico and criticized the anti-war activities of some Protestant bodies. The entire Catholic press sought some good from the war: the unification of Mexico, the resuscitation of some parts of the Mexican Church, and the separation of Church and State. One paper mentioned the possible benefit in the augmentation of members by the annexation of Mexico only to ridicule it. Victory at the end of the war was celebrated in a martial way by the parish of St. Martin in Louisiana. General Zachary Taylor was welcomed home by the Bishop of New Orleans in his cathedral. Orestes Brownson, a converted Catholic, at first supported the war, and then reversed his position declaring the war would bring the slavery conflict to a head, destroy the Union, and injure the South.

Among the Methodists the Southern Conference took no action, while the Northern Conference was pro-war. One hundred northern ministers in a personal visit so assured President Polk. The New England Conference twice passed resolutions against the war, objecting to its costs in life and money. The Methodist religious papers were most zealous in support of the war. The Rev. Evan Stevenson in his *Christian Intelligencer and Southern Methodist* thrilled to the popular slogan: "My country, right or wrong." *The Christian Advocate* of New York, official organ of the Northern Methodists, and one of the most important religious journals, though questioning the justice of the war, considered it as God's punishment of the Mexicans for their sins, and declared the weakening of the "debased" Catholic priesthood would be salutary for Mexico. Open opposition by the Methodist papers was milder than pro-war support and was exclusively northern. Many ministers were quite militant and saw in the war a chance to expand its membership in Texas.

Southern Baptist official and press opinion was pro-war. John L. Waller, editor of *The Western Baptist Review* of Louisville, feared that a Mexican triumph would place "the yoke of papal oppression on every state of this Republic." *The Old School Presbyterian* officially declared the war as a national calamity, yet saw some good in the opening of Mexico to its missionaries. The ministers as a whole were pro-war; only three anti-war sermons have been found.

The Protestant Episcopal Church was either silent or noncommittal with regard to the war. Episcopal papers made little comment. The general and state synods were silent. Only two groups gave official

recognition to the war and these condemned it. Dr. Benjamin Kurtz, editor of *The Lutheran Observer* of Baltimore condemned the slogan: "My country, right or wrong," as a monstrous doctrine. If it had been adhered to previously he said the United States would never have separated from England and Luther would never have revolted against the Church. The German Reformed Church was more silent than the Lutheran. The Evangelical Reformed Church, Dutch, was also noncommittal. Its only paper, *The Christian Intelligencer* of New York, reprinted an anti-war sermon of the Rev. Gustavus Abeel of Geneva, New York, who said the war was waged for the selfish interests of a few. In contrast, Rev. Demarest of Hackensack, New Jersey, at a soldier's funeral declared it an honor to die for such a country as the United States in "this just war." The Disciples of Christ were silent as a Church save for a few anti-war resolutions, condemning lust for territory and slavery expansion, signed by 150 members.

The Northern Baptists and New School Presbyterians were too evenly divided to be classed as for or against the war. The Northern Baptist press in its news ranged from mild support to outspoken opposition. *The New York Recorder* scorned the plea that the war would advance Christianity, objecting that it was against divine law to do evil that good may come. One Northern Baptist leader, President Francis Wayland of Brown University, declared that war was contrary to natural democratic rights and that when a government plunged into an unnecessary and unjust war the citizens should refuse personal service and financial loans to it. Dr. Samuel Sharp of Boston stigmatized the war as "a war for southern territory, waged . . . against God." The New School Presbyterian General Assembly and state synods opposed the war. Its press was about evenly divided. One Cincinnati paper feared that the strength of the Catholic Church would be dangerously increased by the war. Only two New School sermons received press notice. One, by Rev. Samuel D. Burchard (of later "Rum, Romanism and Rebellion" fame) declared the object of the war was to extend slavery and was superlatively wrong. A second, by Rev. Albert Hale of Springfield, Illinois, denounced the war as unjust, and volunteers as moral pests to society. Indignation ran high against him and led to a demand to dispense with his religious services at the Illinois Constitutional Convention of 1847; the request was defeated by a vote of 60-54. Only two Presbyterian synods of Pennsylvania, and eastern Ohio and the anti-slavery Free Synod of Cincinnati came out wholly against the war.

The Congregationalists, Unitarians and Quakers opposed the war wholeheartedly. William H. Channing and Theodore Parker condemned it. Parker

agreed that the Church had a civilizing mission but said it should be done by the schoolmaster and not by bullets. The Society of Friends expressed their anti-war feelings by numerous petitions to Congress. Over 10,000 copies of an anti-war article by Jonathan Dymond, an English linen draper, were sent to each member of Congress, to members of most state legislatures, to editors of newspapers and to leading clergymen of different denominations.

Motives for and against the war were varied. The part played by politics in influencing the opinions of ministers is not known as their party affiliations cannot be ascertained. Most opposition was sectional, chiefly from New England and Ohio. Proximity to the scene of the war occasioned more popular support while distance lessened it. The regions along the Atlantic seaboard came last in support in order from the South to the North. In the Southwest Central region, of the whole population one in three white inhabitants volunteered while the lowest support was in New England where one volunteered out of every 2,500 population. The only exception to this rule, based upon statistics prepared by Francis F. Ellsworth occurred in Maryland and Missouri which furnished volunteers in disproportion to their geographic proximity to the war zone. People divided for or against the war accordingly as they envisaged benefit or harm to slavery. The land hungry saw free land and plunder. New England feared the loss of economic domination by westward expansion. Others pictured an ignorant country, subject to a "depraved" Catholic Church, uplifted by our civilizing mission.

The pro-war position of the Catholic Church, 59 per cent of whose members lived along the Atlantic seaboard, the region of least popular support of the war, was determined by tradition and other internal factors. It was an age-long Catholic tradition to support the government authority. Catholics were eager to demonstrate their patriotic enthusiasm to counterbalance the hostility of the Native-American movement of the forties. The Church, too, saw benefit in the addition of Catholic members to the United States. In the Southwest region their numbers were disproportionately large, numbering ten

times as much as their closest competitor, the Southern Methodists. The Methodists too were bound by the Wesleyan tradition to support the civil authority. However, probably the zeal for evangelization more accounted for pro-war support than dogma. The press, the General Conference of the Northern branch, and the missionary-minded of the Southern branch all seized with eagerness the opportunity to expand at the expense of the Roman Catholic Church.

The Old School Presbyterians of the South adhered to the dogma that war was a scourge of God and hence to be accepted with resignation. Moreover, this was a war against a hated rival. The New School of the North was divided on the war probably due to the fact that it had no official role to play in Texas and to their proximity to pacific Congregationalists in New England. Southern Baptists who had authority over evangelization in the Southwest were pro-war, while Northern Baptists were cold to it.

The Episcopalian Church, which remained united despite the slavery question, seemed to place politics beyond the sphere of church activity. German, Dutch and Swiss churches were occupied with missionary work among the new immigrants in the Middle West and hence too busy to expand far afield. Unitarian opposition centered around Channing, while Quaker disapproval was one of the cardinal tenets of their faith.

Thus among the factors causing pro-war support were: desire to regain popular approval, evangelical emphasis, anti-Catholic feeling, tradition permitting a "just war," and stakes in the territory adjoining Mexico. No church with most of its members in the Southwest or with a strong stake there opposed the war. Many Protestants talked of Manifest Destiny and the opportunity afforded of imposing "superior" religious institutions on Mexico. Other factors made for opposition: belief in the injustice or inexpediency of the war, absolute pacifism, and concentration of members at a distance from the war. However, not the pacifism of any religion, but military victories brought the war to a close.

## Historical Slogans in Teaching American History

H. E. DEWEY

*Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, Kansas*

Historical slogans or famous sayings of any given period do not, of course, give an accurate description of incidents and events, but they have value for the

history teacher because they often represent the prevailing spirit among the people and their leaders, presented in picturesque and forceful language. Slo-



gans at times have led us far astray from our own best interests, but for this very reason they should be known to the history student.

Many American sayings are famous because they are heavily loaded with historical meaning. Those which have survived help to explain our virtues and our national stamina, or perhaps they demonstrate the futility of loyalty to outworn or half-truth sayings. By critical discussion, the true and permanent can be singled out, and the false or temporary slogans can be exposed to the light of modern intelligence.

Finally, slogans are fun. The writer has arranged fifty-five slogans into a game which can be played by any social studies class, or by any group of young people or adults. Like the old game of authors, the slogan cards are arranged in books representing periods of American history.

Each card, besides presenting the slogan itself, gives a brief statement of the probable origin and meaning of the slogan. Players earn their points by asking another player for a given slogan card, and by successfully explaining the origin of the saying, with a bit of its historical setting, not necessarily in the exact words printed on the card. The player who can do this wins the card from the player who holds it, as in the old game of authors. The player who accumulates the largest number of books will be the winner.

At least one other method of playing the game may be suggested. The teacher (or a monitor) may read the slogans to the class, giving each pupil a turn to win as many cards as he can by statements about the slogan. If his statement is satisfactory, he wins the card. Still other methods of using the cards may be devised by the alert teacher.

The game has been used in classes and outside groups by the writer and others, and has aroused much interest. Even if the slogan on any one of the cards cannot be traced accurately to the originator, it has value nevertheless, as it is an expression of the ideas of the period whatever its true origin.

For what they may be worth to the social studies teacher, the cards are described below: each Arabic numeral gives the title of the card, and a brief description of the slogan.

#### Book "A"

##### Colonial and Revolutionary Period

- (1) "I thank God we have no free schools or printing presses."  
Statement of Governor Berkeley in colonial Virginia, seventeenth century. The governor was an opponent of democratic institutions.
- (2) "Speak for yourself, John."  
Answer of Priscilla to John Alden as given in "The Courtship of Miles Standish" by Longfellow. About 1620.

- (3) "No Taxation without Representation."

A reference to the fact that, though the colonials were taxed by the British, they had no representation in Parliament.

- (4) "I regret that I have but one life to give for my country."

Supposed statement of Nathan Hale before being executed as a spy by the British during the Revolutionary War.

- (5) "As for me, give me liberty or give me death!"

Reported appeal for unity in the colonies, attributed to Patrick Henry. The appeal was made in the Virginia House of Burgesses just before the Revolutionary War.

#### Book "B"

##### The Young Nation

- (1) "Fifty-Four Forty or Fight."

Campaign slogan in Election of 1844, ending in a treaty that prevented war and settled the boundary between Canada and the Oregon territory.

- (2) "We Have Met the Enemy and They Are Ours."

Famous report of Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry following the Battle of Lake Erie in 1813.

- (3) "Tippecanoe and Tyler Too."

Campaign slogan of 1840, honoring William Henry Harrison, hero of the Battle of Tippecanoe, and ninth President of the United States. Tyler was the candidate for Vice-President.

- (4) "Remember the Alamo!"

A battle cry of the Mexican War, following the massacre of Americans at a mission house in San Antonio, Texas, 1836.

- (5) "To the Victor Belong the Spoils."

Refers to Andrew Jackson's policy of removing all members of the opposing party from office and appointing his own loyal friends. Followed his election to the Presidency in 1828.

#### Book "C"

##### War Between the States

- (1) "Government of, by, and for the People."

Famous phrase (of medieval origin) used by President Lincoln in the Gettysburg Address, 1863.

- (2) "I will fight it out on this line if it takes all summer."

General Grant's promise to the nation before the final battles of the war.

- (3) "Bleeding Kansas."

Commemorating the struggle between pro-slavery and anti-slavery settlers in Kansas territory.

- (4) "Now He Belongs to the Ages."

Reputed statement of Edwin M. Stanton imme-

diately following the assassination of President Lincoln in 1865.

- (5) "A House Divided Against Itself Cannot Stand."

Famous statement from one of Lincoln's speeches. The United States cannot continue half-slave and half-free.

#### Book "D"

##### The Gilded Age

- (1) "You Shall Not Crucify Mankind Upon a Cross of Gold."  
From speech of William J. Bryan against the gold standard in the Campaign of 1896. This speech is reputed to have won for him the nomination of the Democratic party for the Presidency.
- (2) "Go West, Young Man."  
Advice to young men mistakenly attributed to the famous editor, Horace Greeley, who was defeated for the Presidency in 1872 by Ulysses S. Grant.
- (3) "The Way to Resume Is to Resume."  
Refers to resumption of specie payments in 1879. Attributed to President Rutherford B. Hayes.
- (4) "The White Man's Burden."  
This phrase implies that the white man is under obligation to civilize the benighted peoples of the world. Common toward the close of the nineteenth century.
- (5) "Remember the *Maine*!"  
Recalls the mysterious explosion and sinking of the battleship *Maine* in Havana harbor just before the Spanish-American War.

#### Book "E"

##### The "Teddy Roosevelt" Era

- (1) "My Hat Is in the Ring."  
President Theodore Roosevelt's dramatic announcement of his candidacy for the Presidency against Taft and Wilson in 1912.
- (2) "The Full Dinner Pail."  
The Republican party's battle cry in the interest of the workingman, organized and unorganized, during the McKinley-Roosevelt period, beginning in the campaign of 1896.
- (3) "The Supreme Court Follows the Election Returns."  
A statement attributed to the fictional "Mr. Dooley" (a character by Finley Peter Dunne) suggesting that Supreme Court justices are apt to consider how elections go in forming their opinions.
- (4) "The Big Stick."  
This was an expression of the personality of President Theodore Roosevelt, who figuratively

cudged his opponents into submission.

- (5) "Fear God and Take Your Own Part."  
The philosophy of life of President Theodore Roosevelt; his idea of personal and national preparedness.

#### Book "F"

##### The U.S.A.—A World Power

- (1) "Dollar Diplomacy."  
The charge that foreign relations were conducted in the interests of "big" business; that is, to make money, no matter who suffered from this policy.
- (2) "Too Proud to Fight."  
A slogan of Wilson's first administration protesting against the United States being drawn into the European War, about 1915.
- (3) "Open Door in China."  
The demand that all nations be given equal rights in trade relations with China.
- (4) "Get the Boys Out of the Trenches by Christmas."  
This slogan was used in connection with the unsuccessful attempt of Henry Ford and associates to end the European War by sending a "peace ship" to Europe.
- (5) "The Constitution Follows the Flag."  
Assumption that all constitutional rights and privileges should be extended to the peoples in territories added to the United States; e.g., Hawaii, Alaska, and the Philippines.

#### Book "G"

##### The First World War

- (1) "Self-determination for Small Nations."  
This much-used phrase (still current) grew out of the invasion of Belgium by Germany in 1914 and the general disregard of the rights of small nations like the Balkan states by the Great Powers.
- (2) "Make the World Safe for Democracy."  
One of the main purposes of the war as interpreted by President Woodrow Wilson and by many other Americans.
- (3) "The War to End all Wars."  
The slogan which implies that the United States, by joining with the Allies against the Central Powers, could prevent wars in the future, after winning the victory.
- (4) "He Kept Us Out of War."  
This was the campaign slogan of the Democratic party in 1916, in which Woodrow Wilson was re-elected by a narrow margin.
- (5) "A Scrap of Paper."  
This phrase (still in use) was used to describe the disregard for treaties of the belligerent nations, especially the Central Powers.

## Book "H"

## Prosperity

## (1) "The Smoke-Filled Room."

This phrase, current about 1920, relates to the room in a Chicago hotel in which Harding was chosen as a compromise candidate for the Presidency by Republican party leaders.

## (2) "Keep Cool with Coolidge."

An incitement to the American people to imitate the supposed taciturnity and calmness of President Coolidge, who refused to become disturbed over conditions which some thought alarming, between 1924 and 1929.

## (3) "Two Chickens in Every Pot: Two Cars in Every Garage."

This pleasing phrase was current up to and including the first part of Hoover's administration (1929) as a Republican claim for continuation in power.

## (4) "I Do Not Choose to Run."

Famous reply of Calvin Coolidge to those who urged him to run for the Presidency in 1928.

## (5) "Harding and Normalcy."

These words were used to express the conviction that the Republican party could bring the country back to its normal pre-war status following the First World War, by the election of Harding. Campaign of 1920.

## Book "I"

## Depression

## (1) "A Plague on Both Your Houses."

In an interview President Franklin D. Roosevelt used this Shakespearian phrase to denounce the two major labor organizations, which were fighting each other.

## (2) "The Fundamental Business of This Country Is Sound."

A statement frequently heard after the Stock Market crash in the Fall of 1929, but soon forgotten in the serious depression which followed.

## (3) "The Forgotten Man."

Franklin D. Roosevelt used this term during his candidacy for the Presidency in 1932, referring to the growing number of unemployed breadwinners.

## (4) "The Third-Term Candidate."

This title for Franklin D. Roosevelt, first President to run for a third term, was used repeatedly in the Campaign of 1940 by opposition candidates.

## (5) "Economic Royalists."

In Franklin D. Roosevelt's first two administrations, those who opposed his social and economic reforms, and who reputedly belonged

to the wealthier classes, were dubbed with this title.

## Book "J"

## The Second World War

## (1) "Praise the Lord and Pass the Ammunition."

Supposedly this phrase was sung out by a chaplain who was aiding in the active fighting in the Southwest Pacific. Has become the title of a popular song.

## (2) "Remember Pearl Harbor!"

The Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor from the air December 7, 1941. Ever since then this phrase has been a battle cry for the Pacific warfare against Japan.

## (3) "Sighted Sub; Sank Same."

The laconic message of a successful airplane pilot in the early days of the war.

## (4) "Peace for Our Time."

Chamberlin, British Prime Minister in the 1930's, used this phrase after his return from the Munich Conference in 1938.

## (5) "Blood, Sweat and Tears."

The famous words of Prime Minister Winston Churchill to the British Nation in its darkest hours, after the fall of France in 1940.

## Book "K"

## Modern Reform Slogans

## (1) "The Noble Experiment."

Herbert Hoover used this phrase in reference to the Prohibition amendment to the Constitution. The phrase was current during his administration, 1929 to 1933.

## (2) "Too Much Government in Business: Too Little Business in Government."

This was and still is a plea for the reduction of bureaucracy and other forms of government interference with business; a plea for resumption of private enterprise with a minimum of government regulation.

## (3) "Votes for Women."

A battle cry of the American women whose agitation led to the adoption of the Woman Suffrage amendment to the Constitution in 1920.

## (4) "Down with the Brain Trust."

An expression of opposition to the professors and savants who advised President Franklin D. Roosevelt during the early period of the "New Deal."

## (5) "Peace at Any Price."

An expression often used by people who believe there can be no justification for war under any circumstances. Such people are usually known as "extreme pacifists."



# Safety in Industry

JOAN M. SPRING

*Detroit, Michigan*

Men, women, and children, working long hours in a crude factory, suffering all the hazards of unguarded machinery, the perils of bad lighting and poor ventilation, a high accident toll, and the prevalence of industrial disease—such a picture as this flashes across our mind when we think of labor conditions following the Industrial Revolution. Occupational deaths and disasters were calmly accepted as the inevitable consequence of progress and invention. As the machine age progressed, accidents became more common. These conditions prevailed even into the nineteenth century when it was expected that a man would be killed for every mile of railroad track laid.<sup>1</sup> From this background comes the modern industrial scene, presenting a contrasting picture, indeed, although there is still much to be desired. One of the most vital forces responsible for the improvement has been the modern safety movement.

Approximately thirty years ago employers all over the country, some prompted by purely humanitarian motives, others by governmental pressure, and the realization that accidents were costly, began to feel keenly their responsibility to do something to check the tremendous loss of life and limb of their employees. The railroads were among the first to concentrate on safety, partly as a means of good advertising. Probably the very first attempts to organize a whole industry can be credited to the iron and steel industry. Introduced in 1892, the safety department of the Joliet Works of the Illinois Steel Company has been called "the birth-place of the American industrial accident prevention movement." In 1907 the Association of Iron and Steel Electrical Engineers was organized, which later developed into the National Safety Council. In the same year occurred the first public exhibition of safety appliances in the American Museum of Natural History in New York City. Other pioneers in the field of safety were insurance companies, mine executives, state and federal bureaus, and unions.

At the turn of the century the need was felt for a national conference on safety, culminating in the first cooperative safety council held in 1912 in Milwaukee. Here was born the headquarters for all work in the field of safety, the National Safety Council. Starting with sixteen men and no money, it has grown into the present nationwide organization which provides information concerning safety

devices, publishes monthly magazines, pamphlets, newsletters, posters, and conducts the annual national safety council meeting, as well as promoting regional and local congresses. In short, it is the "coordinating agency" for all types of safety organization.

More than a purely humanitarian feeling motivated these pioneers. They felt the pressure of federal, state, and local governments. As early as 1867 Massachusetts instituted factory inspection, and ten years later, passed a law compelling the guarding of dangerous moving machinery. In 1911 California passed the first American law for the compulsory reporting of occupational disease. Enactment of employers' liability and workmen's compensation legislation brought to management's attention the dollar and cents value of safety. The year 1885 saw the passage of an employers' liability law in Alabama, followed by one in Massachusetts two years later. The federal government passed the first workmen's compensation law in 1908, covering certain classes of federal employees. In 1910 in New Jersey was passed the first state workmen's compensation law. Gradually all states followed suit, and by 1941, all states except Mississippi had enacted such legislation. Thus, by placing a financial burden for accidents upon the industrialists, these laws have greatly accelerated efforts toward safer working conditions.

Accidents constitute an enormous economic loss not only to the worker but also to industry and society as a whole. The worker is affected through lost time, consequent loss of earning power, and even, perhaps, the loss of his life or limbs. The industrial accident record, since the advent of the safety movement, is fitting proof, indeed, of safety's contribution to the extension of the worker's life-span. The National Safety Council estimates that 285,000 lives were saved between 1913 and 1938. Since 1926 the industrial injury frequency rate<sup>2</sup> has declined 67 per cent and the severity rate<sup>3</sup> has decreased 51 per cent. Available information indicates that during the war years 1917-1918 deaths per 100,000 workers were nearly one and one-half times as numerous as in 1941-1942. The safety movement has, perhaps more than any one factor, recognized the worker's right to a decent clean place to work, good tools and machines, protection against occu-

<sup>1</sup> Francis L. Bacon, *Outwitting the Hazards*, p. 188.

<sup>2</sup> Number of disabling injuries per million man-hours worked.

<sup>3</sup> Number of days lost per thousand man-hours worked.

pational hazards, and compensation for industrial injuries.

Employers soon realized that accidents were costly and that accident prevention paid. Increased costs of production, greater labor turnover, friction with employees, legal expenses, and compensation payments are the losses suffered by employers. The indirect costs of accidents have been estimated at over four times the direct costs. To reduce these costs the industrialists found that prevention of accidents was the only solution, discovering that the causes of accidents were the very forces that retarded production. American industry has spent huge sums for safety programs. For example, the United States Steel Corporation has spent more than \$26,000,000 since 1912, the returns on this investment being an estimated saving of 71,168 lives or serious injuries.<sup>4</sup> In another industry over a six year period the production index rose steadily from 100 to 132 while the comparable accident frequency index dropped to 71.

Society, too, feels the blow of accidents through decreased productivity and the necessity of caring for the dependents of the injured. Accident prevention means the safeguarding of health and the lives of the members of the community for the common good.<sup>5</sup>

How, you may ask, is a safety program carried out successfully? One author considers the heart of the safety program the coordinating of the three E's of safety, namely, Engineering, Education, and Enforcement.<sup>6</sup> Another has aptly expressed the safety director's three objectives as how to (1) get attention, (2) arouse interest, and (3) develop attitudes toward safety.<sup>7</sup> The responsibility for safety continues to rest upon the shoulders of management who usually delegates it to a competent safety director. The particular type of safety organization depends, of course, on the size of the plant and its products.

Let us turn our attention to the safety department of an industrial manufacturing plant to consider briefly its organization and specific contributions to the worker's well-being. Its organization is simply all supervision under the direction of the safety department in matters of safety. To carry out the program successfully the safety director must have full cooperation of top management, and all foremen, as well as the engineering, planning, production, maintenance, purchasing, medical, and personnel departments. If the size of the plant warrants it, the safety department is composed of several safety inspectors and one or two clerks under the safety director.

The safety department provides both verbal and written instructions for the safe operation of each job, compiled by the department with the help of the safety codes prepared by the National Bureau of Standards of the United States Department of Commerce, the *Safe Practice Pamphlets* of the National Safety Council, and the department's own experience. The new employee, especially susceptible to accidents due to his confusion of mind, and inadequate training, is approached as soon as possible by a member of the safety department and warned of the hazards of his particular job. Some companies provide a school particularly for the new employee to which he is sent for one day to acquaint him with all phases of company policy, rules, regulations, and where moving pictures are shown to give graphic presentation of the necessity for a safety-minded employee. The employee is instructed that, in case of injury, however slight, arising in the course of employment, he must report promptly to his foreman and to the company hospital. Failure to do so may affect his rights under the Workmen's Compensation Law.

Every accident is investigated immediately by the safety department and a standard accident investigation form is filled out in triplicate, one copy going to the Compensation Department, another, if it is a lost time case, to the Personnel Department, and the original is kept in a permanent file in the safety department along with a copy of the hospital record. The particular value of accident reports is to determine the fundamental causes of accidents so that other similar accidents may be prevented.

Each safety inspector is equipped with "safety inspection report" blanks to be filled out on his daily trip through the departments to which he is assigned. All unsafe conditions, whether improper guarding, an unsafe step, or an employee chipping without goggles, are written up. A duplicate is signed by the foreman, who, by signing, agrees to give the matter immediate attention. Each day the safety inspection report slips are returned to the safety department and a report made up which is sent to the head of the department. A file copy is kept in the safety department along with the slips for two weeks, at which time the safety inspector rechecks the unsafe condition. If the condition has been corrected, the slips are approved and checked off the report. If not corrected, a follow-up report is sent to the department head and another check is made in two weeks. The safety inspector is also equipped with "stop tags" to be put on machinery unsafe to operate, thus tagging it out of use until repaired. Such items are also put on the Safety Inspection Report and rechecked in a similar manner.

Regular meetings of the safety department are held for discussion of plant conditions, causes of

<sup>4</sup> Francis L. Bacon, *Outwitting the Hazards*, p. 198.

<sup>5</sup> G. A. Orth, *The Annals*, CXXIII (January, 1926), 20.

<sup>6</sup> Francis L. Bacon, *Outwitting the Hazards*, p. 191.

<sup>7</sup> Vernon G. Schaefer, *Safety Supervision*, p. 131.

accidents, and for consideration of new plans and safety suggestions. These meetings are particularly valuable in stimulating further efforts toward safe conditions. Regular departmental safety meetings of foremen and representatives of the safety department and management are also held, as well as meetings of jobsetters with a department head and a safety man.

Of great value to the safety of the worker is the safety equipment made available since the safety movement began. Many mechanical devices have been introduced to safeguard the worker. The earlier machines were constructed without a thought to the safety of the operator. At first, it was thought that by providing guards for all mechanical equipment accidents might stop. This was done, but accidents continued. In some cases guards were even more hazardous than the equipment, itself. But the years have brought improved guards and efforts to find safer methods of operation have increased the efficiency of machines while decreasing the hazards. The best method of guarding mechanical equipment has proven to be stationary guards to keep the employee out of the danger zone. The National Safety Council studies of serious injuries attribute one-fourth to improper or inadequate guarding today.

Falls rank second nationally in types of worker accidents. About 50 per cent of all falls occur on the same level, caused by slippery surfaces, defective flooring, and poor housekeeping. Falls on stairways and ramps are also common. Remedies for these conditions are proper design and construction, good lighting and hand rails. Falls from ladders are prevalent, too, resulting in fatalities and permanent injuries to legs, feet, back and chest. To prevent such casualties, efforts are made to provide the right type of ladder for the job, to instruct the employee in the proper way of climbing or descending and to secure the top or bottom of the ladder before using it.

Excessive strain on human strength in handling materials is eliminated by hoists and conveyors, ranging in cost and size from wheelbarrows to giant cranes. Much of the safety in handling materials depends upon selection of rope, chains, hooks, etc. Often large quantities of materials must be transported through plants and courtyards on power trucks, or monorails. The trucks are furnished with warning signals, and the drivers given proper instruction as to the type of truck for the job. A complete list of the mechanical aids, too numerous to cover here, would include proper use of hand tools, and electrical equipment, proper ventilation and good lighting. Noise, too, has become a safety factor. Recent tests proved that shrill sounds can soft-boil eggs, and even kill bacteria.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, sound has its effect on the human brain and the

worker is more efficient in a quiet environment.

Closely related to accidents is the problem of occupational disease which has been defined as a disease of gradual onset, arising out of the course of employment. Examples are silicosis, blisters, abrasions, and dermatitis, a skin disorder. Although not strictly considered accidents, occupational diseases come under the workmen's compensation laws, adding heavily to its cost, the average occupational disease award being more than half again as great as the average award for other cases. Silicosis has been greatly lessened, but the conquest of most of the other diseases has hardly begun.

Many aids to the personal safety of the worker have been introduced. One of the standards set up by the safety department is that the employee must dress appropriately for his or her job. Let us consider the garb of the modern worker from tip to toe. The need for heavy head protection is very great in many industries, such as mining. "Skull savers" have become quite fashionable. Wherever there is danger, women employees must hide their crowning glory under smart looking turbans or caps to prevent it from catching in revolving machine parts and causing serious accidents. Often, ear protection is required to combat intensive, prolonged noise.

Of vital importance from a safety standpoint is eye protection. Approximately 75,000 occupational eye injuries result in lost time each year while about 5,000 persons lose one or both eyes in occupational accidents. Eye protection is used wherever there is danger of eye injury from flying particles, molten metals, or injurious chemicals. Many varieties of goggles are available to protect the worker, ranging from the spectacle type, with screen or plastic side shields, plain or colored lens, for light or moderate work, to heavy duty cup goggles, and even complete face shields for arc welders. For the employee who wears glasses, corrective safety goggles may also be had, with his prescription ground into the lens.

Often the hands and arms of the worker must be protected while he is handling objects, operating machines, and using hand tools. National Safety Council studies show that 225,000 temporary and 25,000 permanent disabilities involve fingers so frequently exposed to danger from power presses, gears, and other revolving parts. Proper machine guards prevent many accidents as do gloves and finger guards, but this problem is complicated because of the need for mobility of fingers.

Safe work clothing is a necessity. Loose garments which may get caught in machinery or dirty clothing which may cause dermatitis are definitely banned. For some occupations ordinary coveralls are worn; others require special coats, aprons, knee pads, sleeve, wrist and arm protectors. A great variety of safety clothing is now worn and many improvements now in the experimental stage will become the fashion

<sup>5</sup> *Michigan Labor and Industry*, III (February, 1943), 5.



after the war. Another innovation that has proved a great boon in preventing accidents is the safety shoe, a wide variety of styles being used from the wooden sole adapted to steel mills, to the ordinary shoe with steel, fiber, or plastic reinforced toe.

Developments of recent years have called attention to the accident proneness of the fatigued worker. Labor turnover, lost time, and decreased output go along hand in hand with fatigue. The answer in many cases has proven to be a regular rest period for all workers to give a breathing spell, so that the worker can relax mentally and physically, and regain energy by taking some food, particularly sweets.

Indeed, the organized safety movement has come a long way since its advent thirty years ago. Great have been its accomplishments and lasting its effects. With thirty years of experience behind them, safety leaders are now in a better position to combat accidents than ever before. They have proved the advantages and disadvantages of certain types of guarding and have provided many safety devices, as well as safety instructions for all employees. They know, now, that to insure success, upper management must direct the policies and take an active part in the safety program.

Yes, the picture is brighter and the future's possibilities unlimited, but the problem is not solved. As reported by the National Safety Council, the 1942 occupational total was 18,500 fatalities and 1,750,000 non-fatal injuries. In other words, the average is two deaths and 200 injuries per hour. An estimated 270,000,000 man-days were lost because of occupational injuries. The monetary cost was great, also, approximately \$2,300,000,000 in 1942, averaging around thirty-five dollars per worker.<sup>9</sup> Today, particularly, the importance of accident prevention cannot be overestimated. As long as every war worker is fighting the battle of pro-

duction, his loss is comparable to that of a soldier at the front.

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# Teaching Democracy Through Personalities

MAURICE P. MOFFATT

Teaneck High School, Teaneck, New Jersey

AND

JOHN R. CRAF

Stanford University, Stanford University, California

Democracy and the principles for which it stands can be more thoroughly understood and more easily taught to the students in our secondary schools if

they become familiar with the lives of the men who have built up this cherished heritage. In the past, much significance has been placed upon the political

phases of America's historical development and while the lives of the men who built democracy were studied, too little emphasis has been placed on the individual contributions of great Americans. In view of this, it might be advantageous, from an educational viewpoint, for the social studies curriculum to provide for the study of the lives of eminent Americans, for it was these men who contributed extensively to the development of democracy and its progress, as well as to the individual rights and liberties which Americans now enjoy.

Not only did many of our outstanding citizens contribute in building the pillars of freedom, but their lives are filled with numerous examples of fortitude, courage, perseverance, righteousness and willingness to sacrifice. These should be brought to the attention of all students both in the junior and senior high school. If such a procedure is carried out, it must necessarily follow that the student will gain a more complete understanding of American history and he will not think of it as purely a chain of political events.

Another advantage of the study of history through personalities is the fact that there is opportunity to associate the geography of the region with particular events and the men who are associated with them. For example when studying the life of George Washington the teacher may bring out the fact that the colony of Virginia in which Washington's home was located abounded with navigable streams up which sailed the trading vessels of America and England. In this study, the numerous harbors and cities which were situated along the James, Potomac, and other rivers may be pointed out on the map and thereby history and geography may be correlated or fused into a coherent unit of study to give the student a better comprehension of the particular region.

When studying Adams, Webster, and other great men of New England the teacher may again motivate student interest by correlating historical places with names and other factors to enrich further the study. For example, in a study of John Adams, the importance of Boston and the surrounding territory which was the hub of New England colonial trade may be emphasized and occasion taken to point out on maps the geography of the region.

Another excellent example of the possibilities of correlating geography with history and the lives of men who made history is the expedition and exploits of Lewis and Clark whose travels within the continental United States were at their time without precedent. When the United States annexed Louisiana, the vast potentialities of which were to a large extent unknown, two relatively youthful army officers, chosen for this task by President Jefferson himself, had begun to map out and investigate its

natural resources, its inhabitants, its rivers and streams, and its boundaries. At this point, the teacher when discussing Jefferson's part in the Louisiana Purchase might stress his contribution to the field of American education through the establishment of the University of Virginia which served as a model in many respects for the development of other colleges and universities in America. Students with particular interests in education would thereby have an additional incentive to delve into his life's history which had a significant influence upon the early years of the republic.

The foregoing examples suggest men whose lives be studied in view of giving students a knowledge of history without emphasis upon political developments and at the same time stimulate student interests in the subject being studied by fusing history with geography. Too often in the past, in an effort to complete a required unit or semester of study, teachers have followed too closely the outline or textbook. While accomplishing the immediate objective, namely to complete the particular unit, they have failed to accomplish the larger objective—the arousing of student interest in the subject studied and the true learning that results therefrom. Excellent results can be obtained from teaching a unit in which there is true student interest developed and it is therefore paramount that all teachers put forth their very best efforts in the organization and teaching of subject matter.

Studying democracy through personalities is particularly apropos where less rapid groups are concerned for a study of the lives of great Americans arouses interest which would often otherwise be lacking. We see examples of this constantly in our daily lives. All secondary school students, whether they will admit it or not, are to a greater or lesser degree hero worshippers. Events of the past few months have awakened a new interest in our naval and army forces and with it a demand for knowledge of our past leaders in the various branches of the services and their achievements. If a student or group of students show interest in this, a fertile field is opened for the study of American history and the lives of men who made it. Who were Jones, Perry, Dewey, Hobson, Yarnell, and "Teddy" Roosevelt and what part did they play in the American naval scene? If the student has a genuine curiosity the entire range of American history can be covered if he is properly guided and encouraged.

#### CONCLUSION

In retrospect, let us reconsider the objectives which can be obtained and aims which can be accomplished by teaching democracy through a study of personalities. They are:

1. History can be fused to a considerable extent

with geography thus making the subject wider in scope.

2. Student interests can be increased and through a well-organized reading program a firm foundation for leisure time reading can be laid.

3. Less rapid students can be aroused to the study of democracy if they are properly motivated and interested in the lives of the men who have made democracy possible.

4. By teaching history through personalities, opportunity is present to use current events more extensively in connection with the current class work. The advantages which accrue to students from the use of current event reports are numerous and every effort should be put forward to arrange for sufficient time for current events during each week.

5. Individual assignments will increase student responsibility and initiative for each pupil will realize

he is solely responsible for a particular piece of work.

6. Study of the lives of great Americans can increase the student's understanding of and belief in democracy and what it stands for. By a better understanding of democracy, the patriotism of all concerned will be broadened and deepened.

7. By a study of personalities, much insight can be gained of the home life and culture of prominent men of America and the knowledge of social conditions of the time be thereby increased.

8. By no means of less importance than these aims and objectives is the fact that students will gain enjoyment from their school work if they are given the opportunity to do the things in which they have an interest. Pupils will develop enthusiasm for their school work and will gain in confidence and composure.

## Why Social Studies for Vocational Students?

H. BOODISH

*Murrell Dobbins Vocational School, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania*

Many students have approached the writer as well as other teachers with the question: What good will social studies be to me if I am going to be a plumber, or an auto-mechanic, or an electrician? Some of the students have asked this question with sincerity, truthfully seeking a self-satisfying answer. Many others have asked this same question because they want to avoid doing something which to them is distasteful. The question is a challenge to the teacher and requires an answer, regardless of what type of student asks it. Unfortunately, the teacher is not always prepared to give an adequate and convincing answer on the spur of the moment. Hence this paper.

In order to understand the purpose of social studies in the school curriculum, including the vocational school curriculum, we must first ask ourselves what is the purpose of education in general. Basically, education has one function—to help the individual to prepare himself for efficient participation in life, which in other words means, to help him to get as much as possible out of life for his own satisfaction and at the same time to contribute towards the betterment of society, or at least, not to be a burden on society.

It is evident that having a useful occupation and performing that occupation well is basic to self as well as social satisfaction. But the mere fulfillment,

even successful fulfillment, of one's occupation, is insufficient towards having a full and satisfactory life. The individual is more than just a carpenter, or an electrician, or a plumber, or a doctor. He is also a member of a family unit. He is a member of many other social units, such as fraternal organizations and the church. He is a member also of economic and political groups, such as labor union, employer organizations and political parties. In other words, he is a member of society in all its manifestations, political, social, religious, and economic, local, national and international.

The manner in which these various groups function both springs from the action of every individual and at the same time affects the day to day living of every individual. Wars, depression, epidemics, strikes, crime, and numerous other less obvious social phenomena affect the life of everyone of us. All to a lesser or greater degree are the result of the action or inaction of every person. Education, therefore, to be truly effective must so train every individual that those social phenomena which cause human distress and misery are reduced to a minimum.

We are now ready to answer the question: What part does social studies play in such an educational program?

Very often, the mere analysis of a term will furnish the answer to a very complicated question.



Social studies, simply defined, is merely a study of society. Expanding that concept, social studies means a study of the various aspects of society with the view of better understanding the factors that are responsible for the various phenomena that are both good and bad for the individual. It has been said that knowing the cause of a disease is half its cure. The same holds true for the diseases of society. If we know and understand their causes, we can better hope to remedy them and prevent their occurrence in the future.

It is an accepted scientific fact that the individual learns either through his own experiences or through knowledge of the experiences of others. A child may learn that he will get burnt if he puts his hand in the fire. But a child can also learn this same fact from the experience of another. That, simply, is the answer to "Why study social studies?" It is true that there are certain basic experiences to which every individual must be subjected—sometimes unavoidably and at a very heavy price. But it would be a physical impossibility in the lifetime of any individual to undergo all the life experiences of society since the beginning of life. But a knowledge of those experiences of society which we call history is essential in better preparing us for the present as well as the future. A few concrete illustrations will serve to emphasize this truth.

At no time perhaps in the history of our country has the question of strikes gained the attention of the country than in this present national emergency. We are all keenly aware of this problem today because the winning of the war is in no small degree threatened by it. But it is not only in war time that strikes should gain our attention. At all times we are all affected by what happens in the field of organized labor and industry. If we are employers we must decide what recognition we will give to unions. If we are wage earners, we must decide whether we should join a union and what union it is to be. In both cases, sometimes, we may have little choice in making the final decision. Even as consumers we are not unaffected. There is the question of whether we should or should not patronize a firm that is on strike. There is the question of whether we should or should not go through a picket line. In addition we are all affected by the loss of time and money resulting from strikes, which in the long run, affect our standard of living. But our reaction to this problem, regardless of our own social and economic posi-

tion, should not be self-centered and emotional. It should be sane, unbiased, and critical. We should look at it with understanding. This requires some knowledge of the history of organized labor and of industry. We must know and understand the causes of industrial disputes. We must understand how industry functions and how organized labor functions. We must know and understand the problems that face them. Then and only then can we hope and expect to devise plans for eliminating the causes of strikes and industrial disputes.

The war itself is another problem. But it is not a problem of the present alone. Wars have always occurred. Must we resign ourselves to the fact that wars are inevitable and that they will always continue to happen? Progress can not be attained through a pessimistic attitude. Wars have always occurred, but we can hope to eliminate their occurrence in the future if we make an attempt to understand their causes and go about methodically to remove them. It is certainly to our advantage to try. But that also requires a study of history—social, political, religious, and economic. We must look into the past and study the reasons for past wars. We must look into the past to understand the conflict between human forces on an individual and national basis. We must look into the historical development of peoples and nations in order to understand why they are today as they are. When a person goes to a doctor because he is suffering from a disease, the doctor first reviews the individual's past medical history, because his past history may often yield a clue to his present condition. So it is with war and other social ills. We must trace their origin back into the past in order to remedy the present and the future.

Crime, corrupt government, race riots, slums, depressions, unemployment, and many other present day problems can only be dealt with intelligently and successfully if all of us understand their causes and lend a hand towards their elimination. This requires on the part of every citizen a knowledge of the mechanics of government, a knowledge of the workings of economics, and a knowledge of the forces that affect changes in human institutions. Only with such knowledge and understanding, and with every individual assuming his responsibility as a citizen of a democracy, can we hope to better the lot of everyone of us and bring about a minimum of social ills.

# On Reaching Conclusions in the Social Studies

JEANNETTE P. NICHOLS

Swarthmore, Pennsylvania

As projected in the February issue of *THE SOCIAL STUDIES* the March 24-25 convention at Philadelphia of the Middle States Council for the Social Studies spent two strenuous days in vigorous discussion of the relative merits of the plans prepared for its decision. Everyone who has participated in a genuine work conference, whether of educators, business people, welfare workers or "what-have-you," knows that all conferences have one human attribute in common—warm differences of opinion—and that these differences can be a help but often prove a hindrance. On the one hand, they make exchange of views a provocative experience, stimulating to thought even if not always wholly amicable. On the other hand, they defeat the primary objective of a conference if not kept in reasonable control.

In other words, every single one of the four-hundred-odd educators at the convention knew, from his or her own experience, that an exchange of views is valuable only if made in a tolerant atmosphere counselling compromise; otherwise, participants fail to lay that foundation of agreed-upon conclusions which is essential to cooperative, constructive action. The question was, could the Middle States Council reach conclusions?

The answer to this question had to be made chiefly by the official staff, upon whose shoulders rested the responsibility for keeping the convention on the track. As at the Christmas convention, each group was carefully organized for action, with a leader to guide discussion, two summarizers to record its trend and to help keep it "enroute," and a host and hostess to welcome participants, get their names and provide them with their tools, the course outlines.

Also in each group was a nucleus of persons who had practiced reaching conclusions on the course outlines during the two preceding days. Some twenty people had met as "participating teachers" of Schoolmen's Week, for preliminary conferences March 22-23, the World History group under the chairmanship of Morris Wolf, editor of the Middle States Council *Proceedings* and the American History group under the chairmanship of Arthur C. Bining, second vice president of the Council. Bent upon sharpening focus for the convention, the "participating teachers" brought to it sets of conclusions to submit to the discussion groups.

Thirty minutes before the convention assembled, a staff meeting was held to make sure each member understood the respective functions and the specific nature of the overall task. There, also, the emphasis was on the need to reach constructive results. The president proceeded to proclaim to all and sundry the highly challenging fact that the undertaking as reported in *THE SOCIAL STUDIES* had brought inquiries from teachers as widely separated as Maine and California, Texas and Michigan. She reported also that some groups distant from the east coastal area, in Pittsburgh for example, had deliberated upon the relative merits of the course outlines put in circulation and had sent in their reactions. In sum, there was emphatic proof that keen interest in these problems was widespread and that the Middle States Council for the Social Studies was expected to make a practicable contribution to their better solution. The staff accepted the challenge with spirit and determination.

So did a considerable proportion of the persons in attendance, as events proved. Evidently they realized the wisdom of Alice in *Through the Looking Glass* who reminded the Red Queen that one has to do a deal of running just to keep in one place. Wanting actually to get ahead, the majority of the conventioners were prepared to handle themselves with sufficient intelligence to clarify their ideas and classify their differences. Thus they might reach a modest modicum of agreement, and get in practice for further exercise in this high and difficult art.

The convention stepped into action along the stages indicated by the program printed in the March *THE SOCIAL STUDIES*. Good, strong propulsion was provided at the outset by Erling Hunt, Arthur C. Bining and Helen Hay Heyl. In the severe compass of twenty-minute keynote addresses they succinctly stated the main points at issue in the job to be done by teachers of world history and American history in secondary schools and of social studies in elementary schools. The sharply defined highlights of their speeches, the more important controversies in the ensuing discussions and certain milder, but no less influential observations made during the March 22-25 work proved all to be part of the arduous process of groping for conclusions. In some respects the process proved as significant as the conclusions. Both

will be placed in appropriate juxtaposition, according to present plans, in the annual volume of the *Proceedings* of the Middle States Council, which will be sent free to all members and will be obtainable by other persons for \$1.00 from the editor, Morris Wolf, Girard College, Philadelphia 21, Pennsylvania.

However, a skeleton statement of a few of the conclusions may here be given for the benefit of readers of *THE SOCIAL STUDIES*. In world history, the majority agreed, high school pupils of the United States no longer should be permitted to emerge grossly ignorant of other nations. They should all be required to take a one-year course in world history, in which the emphasis should be upon the modern period, but not to the total exclusion of earlier civilizations; and this period could be treated as beginning in 1500, or 1700 or at a subsequent date according to the needs and preferences of the different schools. The course should include also the Far East and Latin America, in their appropriate settings.

In American history, the majority agreed, the basic intention should not be confined to teaching of the facts but should have the broader objective of teaching the meaning and practice of democracy. The method of treatment should be primarily chronological, secondarily topical. While the main course should begin with the Revolution, an introductory two weeks for European, institutional and geographic backgrounds was recommended, with the first term's work concluded at 1877. Throughout, three correlative factors should be continually interwoven with the thread of events: geographic influences, cultural developments and the relationship of the United States to the rest of the world; isolated treatment of any of these three was to be sedulously avoided.

Neither the world history nor the American history group made the mistake of insisting upon one rigid course of study for all schools wherever situated; their practical common sense dictated flexibility.

No less practical were the major ideas which

emerged from the three groups discussing social studies in the elementary school. The group which considered whether overlapping could or should be avoided in the kindergarten and first two grades appeared to agree that repetition of experiences, with added richness to meet the needs of the growing child, is desirable; but that overlapping in which a single area appears again and again should and could be avoided by the making and transferring of records from one grade to the next. The rich resources of content material in the neighborhood community need to be mined.

The group discussing by what principle one unit should follow another in social studies of the middle grades welcomed the current shift from sole consideration of subject matter to an awareness of child growth and development. They emphasized their strategic position between the primary and secondary programs and the crying need for cooperation and integration between the different levels.

The group discussing how to balance the emphasis on the local community with emphasis on national and world interests found that the local community represents a cross section of society whereby to bring the world home to the child. But such an achievement requires that teachers receive a new orientation integrating materials bearing upon this larger picture. They need to know where to find the materials and how to stress such new concepts as tolerance and the world community, as the means to world understanding.

One vitally important fact stands forth from the 1943-1944 experiments of the Middle States Council for the Social Studies. Teachers in this field have proved they can sustain an effort to understand each other. That effort has so widened their mutual interest that every one of the seven discussion groups working at the University of Pennsylvania convention proposed further areas for exploration together. They have even found some points of agreement, rather to their surprise, perhaps. May the good work go on!

## David Rittenhouse

HELEN ATKINSON

*David Rittenhouse Junior High School, Norristown, Pennsylvania*

Prominent among the illustrious names of our nation's early history is that of David Rittenhouse, eminent astronomer, mathematician, politician, surveyor, scientist, scholar, inventor and educator. Yet, oddly enough, all too seldom is this great man fully appreciated. The general public, familiar enough

with the names of Washington, Jefferson and Franklin has not recognized the fact that Rittenhouse was renowned at home and abroad for his genius. His accomplishments are even more astonishing when it is realized that his formal schooling was entirely rudimentary. Rittenhouse's intense interest in science and



mathematics led him to explore these fields for himself, and to gain instruction whenever and wherever it was possible.

Dr. Benjamin Rush, in his "Eulogium," delivered a few months after his death, said:

I can truly say, after an acquaintance with Rittenhouse for six and twenty years, that I never went into his company without learning something.

Thomas Jefferson reveals his high regard for his close friend in the following lines:

We have supposed Mr. Rittenhouse second to no astronomer living; that in genius he must be the first because he is self taught. As an artist he had exhibited as great a proof of mechanical genius as the world has ever produced. He had not indeed made a world; but he has by imitation approached nearer its maker than any man who had lived from the creation to this day.

A great deal of conflict was started in 1893 by Daniel Kolb Cassel, of Germantown, Pennsylvania, who set forth in his Rittenhouse genealogy the theory that the family was of noble birth. This gentleman maintained that the lineage could be traced back to the noble house of Von Rittershausen of Westphalia. This in turn, he asserted, had sprung from the male branch of the Austrian Imperial House of Hapsburg. This belief has since been completely discredited.

The actual truth is as follows. Two Rittenhouse brothers, William and Nicholas, by name, moved from Germany to Arnheim, Holland, and thence to Germantown, in 1688. Along with several others, they formed a company and in 1690, the first paper mill in America was erected on the banks of the Wissahickon Creek. Soon afterward, the two brothers bought out the other holders and became the sole proprietors. William was further distinguished for being the first Mennonite pastor in this country. This honor was further increased by his election as the first bishop of the Mennonite Church on the American continent. David Rittenhouse was the great-grandson of this bishop. His parents were Matthias and Elizabeth (Williams) Rittenhouse. He was born in the little stone house in Germantown, which had been built by the bishop near the Wissahickon Creek in 1707. David's birthday was April 8, 1732. It is interesting to note that several other great men were also born in this year, all within a few months of each other. These include such outstanding personages as George Washington, Richard Henry Lee, John Dickinson, and the two great European astronomers, Professor Joseph de Lalande and Dr. Nevil Maskelyne.

When David Rittenhouse was two years old, Matthias Rittenhouse moved his family to a farm of 150 acres in Norriton. Here David grew up, destined by

his father to be a farmer. Fate ordained otherwise, however, for when the boy was twelve years old, an occurrence happened which changed his entire life. Through the death of his mother's brother, he inherited a complete chest of tools, together with several volumes dealing with science and mathematics. Many times his brother, Benjamin, discovered him working out problems on the handle of his plow or on a convenient fence. Although Rittenhouse rode horseback six or seven miles to school at the Quaker Meeting House in Plymouth Meeting, he gained there only the rudiments of learning. With the help of the books from his uncle, he set out to teach himself. At the age of twelve, he made a complete water-mill in miniature. By the time he was seventeen, he had turned out a wooden clock, soon followed by one in metal. All this was the more surprising since he had received instruction from no one.

Because of these feats and the fact that he had delicate health, he persuaded his father to allow him to set up shop as a clock and mathematical instrument maker. Matthias advanced the money for tools from Philadelphia, a roadside shack was built, and David proceeded to work at his trade by day and to study by night. This natural genius was able to solve the most abstruse of mathematical and astronomical problems. He even discovered for himself the method of fluxions, and believed that he was its originator. Only later did he find out that Newton and Leibnitz were vying for the credit—two of Europe's greatest mathematicians. At this time, Rittenhouse was twenty-three. The concentrated study and work of this period of his life gained for him, unfortunately, a lung ailment which he was never able to overcome, and which many times hampered his activity.

During this period of self education, he came under the influence of a friend destined to be helpful and inspiring. Reverend Thomas Barton, who was later to marry his sister Esther, lent him books which opened further fields of knowledge. Rittenhouse now mastered Latin and Greek. It was Barton who first drew the attention of men of learning to this country genius, who nevertheless was already locally renowned for the accuracy of his clocks and his mathematical calculations. Among these new acquaintances were Dr. William Smith, Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, who later collaborated with Rittenhouse in astronomical research; John Lukens, Surveyor-General; and Richard Peters, Provincial Secretary. It was through Peters that he was launched into surveying.

There were many important surveying problems undertaken by Rittenhouse. In each instance, he made his own tools, and every time his calculations were proved to be little short of perfect. His work helped to settle several serious controversies, and at

least once averted open conflict. At various periods throughout his life, he marked the northern and western boundaries of Pennsylvania, settled the boundary between New York and New Jersey, and with Reverend John Ewing, established the line between New York and Massachusetts. In 1763-1764 he fixed the circle with the twelve mile radius about New Castle that is the present boundary between Pennsylvania and Delaware. Mason and Dixon, the English surveyors, who in 1768 fixed the famous line which was to divide the North from the South, could find no fault with the New Castle radius, and they were equipped with the best instruments from England.

In 1770 Rittenhouse completed his famous planetarium or Orrery. "It was an amazing and intricate mechanical device. By manipulating the hands on the dials, it was possible to observe the movements of the celestial bodies over a period of 10,000 years—5000 prior to 1770, and 5000 subsequent to 1770. Complete data regarding eclipses of the sun and moon during these millennia were obtainable to the precise hour, minute and second of occurrence." So spoke Milton Rubincam of this invention, in his address on Rittenhouse delivered at the dedication of a marker on the old Rittenhouse farm in Norriton.<sup>1</sup>

This first planetarium was sold to Princeton College for £300. Another one was immediately contracted for by the University of Pennsylvania at the same price. It was on the occasion of this wonderful invention that Jefferson wrote his eulogy of praise about Rittenhouse. "There is not its like in Europe," said Dr. Gordon, the English historian. Needless to say, this success made Rittenhouse a figure of international importance. Nine years later, when America was attempting to gain an alliance with France against Great Britain, it was suggested and seriously considered that a third planetarium be constructed as a gift for Marie Antoinette. This however, was never carried out.

It is curious to observe today, that although a second planetarium is still preserved by the University of Pennsylvania, the first one, bought by Princeton University, was lost over sixty years ago. It happened that several astronomers needed parts immediately for their telescopes to observe some planetary actions, and so dismantled the historic Rittenhouse planetarium for their own immediate use. Their observances entailed a field trip, but before leaving, they carefully packed away the remaining parts not usable at the time, with full intentions of restoring the original on their return. During their absence, the packing box was carelessly moved away, discarded and forgotten. When the astronomers returned, no trace whatsoever of the main part of the original

planetarium could be discovered so they quite logically did not dismantle their own instruments. A priceless scientific wonder was lost to posterity.

In 1769 David Rittenhouse was named one of a committee appointed by the American Philosophical Society to observe the transit of Venus over the sun's disk, which happened June 3 of that year. His co-workers were the Reverend Dr. William Smith, the Provost of the University of Pennsylvania; John Lukens, Surveyor-General of Pennsylvania, and John Tellar, an assembly member. Two other committees were also assigned to this very important scientific task. It was a phenomenon which offered the best possible means for calculating distances between the sun and the earth. Up to that time, it had never been satisfactorily observed. No man then living could ever have the opportunity again, because it would not recur for 105 years. Everywhere, astronomers all over the world were making elaborate plans. Rittenhouse busied himself in making an equal altitude instrument, an astronomical quadrant, a transit telescope and a timepiece. Everything went well, and when the observations had been taken and the calculations worked out, Rittenhouse, always delicate by nature, fainted from excitement.

Over a century later, Simon Newcomb stated that "the data obtained by Rittenhouse of the celebrated transit of Venus in 1769 have every appearance of being the best that were taken." Thus, one of the first approximately accurate results in the measurement of the sun and the earth was given to the world, not by one of the royal astronomers of Europe, but by a group of amateur astronomers on the Rittenhouse farm in Colonial Pennsylvania. Four boxwoods are said to have been presented to Rittenhouse by Marie Antoinette to show her appreciation of so great an event. Even today, there are three boxwoods growing to mark the corners where the small rectangular observatory of Rittenhouse formerly stood. The fourth was destroyed. Mr. Rittenhouse's successful and accurate observation of the transit of Venus on June 3, 1769, is perhaps his best known exploit.

David Rittenhouse married Eleanor Coleston, a Quakeress of a neighboring family in 1766. In 1770 he moved with his wife and two baby daughters, Elizabeth and Esther, to Philadelphia. The change was made both for business and scientific advantages. Here, once more, another observatory was built in the garden. Here also, his wife, Eleanor, died in childbirth in 1771. The next year Rittenhouse married Hannah Jacobs, a member of a distinguished Quaker family, who was of the greatest assistance to him in his further scientific research.

A great honor was extended to Rittenhouse in May, 1775 when the American Philosophical Society petitioned the Pennsylvania Assembly to erect

<sup>1</sup> Historical Society of Montgomery County, *Bulletin*, II, 7 ff.

an observatory with Rittenhouse as director. The opening of the Revolution unfortunately prevented any action being taken. With the coming of the war, Rittenhouse began his political career. His brother, Benjamin, was made captain of the local Worcester military company, and later became supervisor of the Gunlock Factory. Rittenhouse, himself, was busy in the laboratory where he conducted experiments in rifling cannon and in the various revolutionary councils created to deal with the emergencies faced by the colonists. He held the offices of Engineer to the Committee of Safety, Vice-President of the Council of Safety, and President of the Board of War for the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, an organization that controlled life and death for all citizens. He accompanied the flight of the government to Lancaster, when the British occupied Philadelphia. In 1776 he took his seat as a member of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives, succeeding Benjamin Franklin. Through this, he became a member of the First Constitutional Convention of the State. From 1776 until his resignation in 1789, he served efficiently as State Treasurer of Pennsylvania. He resigned this position after eighteen years, because its irksome work intruded upon his scientific investigations.

In 1779 he was elected the first professor of astronomy at the University of Pennsylvania, thus organizing one of the original departments. In 1780 he was chosen the University's first vice-provost. Two years later, after having taught all the geography and practical astronomy, in addition to about half of the geometry, mathematics, and natural and experimental philosophy courses, Rittenhouse resigned as professor at the University. He was immediately made a trustee and it was at this time that the University's seal was designed with the figure of his famed planetarium.

At the conclusion of the Revolution, in order to show his esteem and regard for General Washington, Rittenhouse made a pair of spectacles and a reading glass which he presented to his friend. The regard was mutual, for at the time of Washington's death, there hung in the dining-room of Mount Vernon a large portrait of Rittenhouse painted by Peale. Franklin also valued Rittenhouse at his true worth, for in a letter he wrote: "All astronomical news I receive here in France, I think it is my duty to communicate to you."

Further honors continued to be heaped upon Rittenhouse. In 1791 he was elected the second President of the American Philosophical Society, in the place left vacant by Franklin's death. He had been a member of the Society since 1768.

In April, 1792, the United States Mint was created by an act of Congress. President Washington appointed Rittenhouse to the post of Director. He

filled this office until he was forced to resign through ill health in 1795.

Among the many academic honors bestowed upon Rittenhouse were the Master of Arts degree by the College of Philadelphia, Princeton, and William and Mary. William and Mary also recognized him as the *Principem Philosophorum*, or Chief of Philosophers. In 1789 Princeton conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. He was a Fellow of the American Society of Arts and Sciences of Virginia. The highest of his many honors came in 1795, when he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of London.

The death of Rittenhouse was the result of cholera which he contracted in June 1796. He died within a few days. He was buried beneath the pavement of his observatory in his Philadelphia home. A few years later his remains were taken to the Presbyterian Church burial grounds on Fourth and Pine Streets, Philadelphia. On January 18, 1878 the bodies of both Dr. and Mrs. Rittenhouse were removed to their present place of burial in Laurel Hill Cemetery, Philadelphia.

In his address on Rittenhouse, Milton Rubincam pointed out his outstanding accomplishments: (1) He was instrumental in settling the boundaries of more than half the British colonies in America. (2) In 1778 he made the first careful observation of an eclipse of the sun in this country. (3) His calculations based on his observation of the transit of Venus in 1769 determined the approximate distance of the sun from the earth more accurately than those of other astronomers. (4) In 1785 he made a collimating telescope, which has been described as "a useful contribution to practical astronomy that has been duly credited."<sup>2</sup> (5) In 1786, he introduced the spider threads in the eyepiece of the telescope, which one outstanding scholar regards as his particular merit. (6) As professor and vice-provost, he assisted materially in the organization of several departments of the University of Pennsylvania. (7) As Director of the Mint, he organized that very necessary governmental bureau.

Dr. David Schrack in *Norriton Township Sketches* says:

Between 1780 and 1796, Rittenhouse wrote no less than seventeen papers for the American Philosophical Society upon optics, magnetism, electricity, meteors, logarithms and other mathematics, the improvement of time keepers, the expansion of wood by heat, astronomical observations upon comets, transits and eclipses, and similar abstruse topics.

In addition to Latin and Greek, Rittenhouse had also mastered the French, German and Dutch lan-

<sup>2</sup> *Dictionary American Biography*, XV, 631.



guages. From the German, he translated the drama of "Lucia Sampson" and from the French, the "Idyls" of Gessner. A copper plate print of the Ohio Pyle Falls from one of his sketches, can be found in *The Columbian Magazine* for February, 1787.

In appearance, David Rittenhouse was tall and slender. His face was soft and mild, and he had some rather feminine traits of character. His tastes were plain and simple, his wants few, and his sympathy went out to all of his fellowmen.

Today, Montgomery county, Pennsylvania, commemorates a great man only by two simple markers, both established by the Montgomery County Historical Society. One is the Rittenhouse Memorial Stone dedicated on Tuesday, September 9, 1884. It con-

sists of a granite monolith placed in front of the Courthouse in Norristown, marking a continuation of the surveyor's meridian line. The other is located on the old Rittenhouse farm, Germantown Pike, east of Fairview Village, in East Norriton Township. This granite monument was dedicated June 3, 1939.

Other local reminders of this great man can be found in the David Rittenhouse Junior High School of Norristown, Rittenhouse Boulevard in Jeffersonville, and Rittenhouse Square, in Philadelphia.

Those who know Rittenhouse agree wholeheartedly with William Barton in his *Memoirs of the Life of David Rittenhouse*, when he said of his grave: "This is, emphatically, the Tomb of Genius and of Science."

## "The Evil That Men Do . . ."

JOE A. APPLE<sup>1</sup>

Ball State Teachers College, Muncie, Indiana

### INTRODUCTION

Quite often Northern soldiers on furlough from Army camps in the South report that they are aghast at the amount of resentment expressed toward the "Yankee" soldiers stationed there. More than one can testify to the still present existence in the minds of many Southerners of the concept that "damn" and "Yankee" are naturally one word. In short, these Northern soldiers are learning that memories of the War between the States still live, and are very vivid even among many of the younger Southern generation.

To these Northern boys this just couldn't be! Hadn't their history books told how a New South had arisen from the tragic era of Reconstruction. Hadn't their teachers reiterated Francis Mile Finch's feeling when he wrote:

No more shall the war cry sever  
Or the winding rivers be red;  
They banish our anger forever  
When they laurel the graves of our dead!  
Under the sod and the dew,  
Waiting the judgment-day;  
Love and tears for the Blue,  
Tears and love for the Gray.

Someone had been wrong, evidently. These boys could see and feel that they quite often were looked upon as "foreigners." This writer believes something had been and still is indeed wrong. First, actual, felt stresses and strains in American life seem not to be attacked realistically by many Ameri-

can history teachers. Second, students seem not to be given adequate opportunities to see some of these stresses and strains through the other fellows' eyes. Third, students seem not to be made sufficiently aware of the backgrounds, experiences, and biases of historical writers and their relations to facts selected, generalizations made, and conclusions drawn.

Working on these three assumptions the writer developed the following material on "The Carpetbaggers as Some Southerners Saw Them" for his classes studying the War Between the States, Economic Problems of the South, and Problems of the American Negro. The desired outcomes implied in the assumptions above, when evaluated subjectively, were most gratifying. The material is here presented in the hope that it can be of similar service to others.

### "THE CARPETBAGGERS AS SOME SOUTHERNERS SAW THEM"

"To the victor belong the spoils"—come and get them." Thus did the South, defeated, devastated, desolated, cry to the world in 1866. There were new constitutions to be written, new laws to be passed, and political positions to be sought; taxes to be collected, and revenue offices to be filled; a new race to be taken care of, to be fed, to be guided, to be educated, and to be protected; and business to be reorganized.

To this inarticulate spoils cry responded many—the good, bad, the soldiers, the scalawags, the new freedmen, and the carpetbaggers.

<sup>1</sup> Lieutenant, Air Corps, Ellington Field, Texas. On leave from Ball State Teachers College, Muncie, Indiana.

The name "carpetbagger" seems to have originated in the "New West" between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi River, some time between the days of Daniel Boone and those of the Civil War. To this region had come bank organizers from the Northeastern states, bringing no assets to the new country except their ability and a little bag of worldly possessions. They soon had disappeared with the same little bags plus the assets of the banks into which they had persuaded the hardy pioneers to put their money. Sadder and wiser, these hardy pioneers, in disgust, called the absconders "carpetbaggers."<sup>2</sup>

One of the groups, answering the plaintive cry of the South, appeared to the "old timer" of the South, to be distinctly similar to those transient bankers. Hence, the conservative Southerners quickly dubbed this group "carpetbaggers." The men came in both official and private capacities from the North.<sup>3</sup> Some of them were emissaries of the Union League Clubs of Philadelphia and New York, dispatched to turn the negroes against the Southern whites and to organize them in secret clubs.<sup>4</sup> Some came as agents of the Freedmen's Bureau.<sup>5</sup> Still others were agents of the United States Treasury Department.<sup>6</sup> Many were private bankrupts, some were saloon keepers, some were army sutlers, and others were petty officers wishing to mend broken fortunes. Their influx was greatly resented and naturally, too, as general impressions of contemporaries will show. "'Carpetbaggers' are new comers in the country. . . . Many of these northern men . . . are as destitute of character as of ability," said *The Nation* in 1868.<sup>7</sup> S. W. Scott, a former United States Army Officer testified: "I have traveled extensively through the South. . . . I am even called by many a 'carpetbagger,'" but "they [the carpetbaggers] are worse than anything. They come here to make money, and fill their pockets, and go away. None of them have residence here."<sup>8</sup>

Horace Greeley, a staunch Unionist, wrote: "The 'Carpetbaggers' are a mournful fact for I have seen them. They crawled South in the track of our armies at a safe distance to the rear and at once ingratiated themselves with the blacks. . . ." John Wallace, an educated "freedman" in Florida, stated that the Negro "had been contaminated by strange white men who represented themselves as their saviors . . .

who originated corruption and enriched themselves . . . these white leaders termed 'carpetbaggers'."<sup>9</sup> In Alabama, the descriptions were even more vitriolic.

In the *Independent Monitor*, of Tuscaloosa, Alabama, on September 1, 1868, appeared this editorial: "The genus carpetbagger is a man with a head of dry hair, a lank stomach and long legs and lank jaws with eyes like a fish and a mouth like a shark. Add to this a habit of sneaking and dodging about in unknown places, habiting with Negroes in dark dens and back streets, a look like a hound and the smell of a polecat."<sup>10</sup> Before ending this general description of the carpetbaggers it may be interesting to give the impression of Harriet Beecher Stowe who by an ironic twist of fate was living in Florida in 1866:

Corrupt politicians are already beginning to speculate on the Negroes as possible capital for their schemes and to fill their poor heads with all sorts of vagaries. Florida is the state into which they have more than anywhere else been passing . . . with the hope of making money, nothing more.

No better summary could be given than is found in part of the famous "Davis Hall Speech" of Benjamin J. Hill in Atlanta, July 16, 1867:

Oh, I pity the colored people who have never been taught what an oath is or what the Constitution means. They are drawn up by a selfish conclave of traitors to inflict a death blow on the Republic by swearing them into a falsehood. They are to begin their political life with perjury to accomplish treason. . . . They are neither legally or morally responsible—it is you, educated, designing white men who thus devote yourselves to the unholy work, who are the guilty parties. You prate about your loyalty. I look you in the eye and denounce you . . . morally and legally perjured traitors. . . . Ye hypocrites! Ye whited sepulchers! Ye mean in your hearts to deceive him and buy up the negro votes for your own benefit. . . . Go on confiscating, arrest without warrant or probable cause, destroy habeus corpus, defile your own race. . . . On, on with your work of ruin, hell-born rioters in sacred things.

And to the Negroes:

They tell you they set you free—it is false. These vile creatures never went with the army except to steal spoons, jewelry, and gold watches. They are too low to be brave. They are dirty spawn, cast out by decent society who

<sup>2</sup> *The New International Encyclopaedia*, IV, 583; *The Americana*, V, 656.

<sup>3</sup> W. A. Dunning, *Reconstruction, Political and Economic*, p. 116.

<sup>4</sup> C. G. Bowers, *The Tragic Era*, p. 198.

<sup>5</sup> *Acts and Resolutions*, 39 Congress, 1 Session, p. 191, in W. L. Fleming, *Documentary History of Reconstruction*, VI, 321; J. Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule in Florida*, pp. 44, 107.

<sup>6</sup> J. T. Trowbridge, *The South*, p. 568.

<sup>7</sup> February 13, 1868, VI, 123.

<sup>8</sup> W. L. Fleming, *Documentary History of Reconstruction*, II, 46-48.

<sup>9</sup> J. Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule in Florida*, pp. 3-4.

<sup>10</sup> W. L. Fleming, *Documentary History of Reconstruction*, frontispiece, facsimile.

came down here to seek to use you to further their own base purposes. . . .<sup>11</sup>

So much for a general view of the carpetbaggers. As a group no one respected them. However, pictures of some of the individuals may help one to weigh the general conclusions given above. In Florida, Governor Stearns, a Northerner, was charged with stealing the meat and flour given by the government, as a charitable contribution to the "freedmen" of the South.<sup>12</sup> R. B. Bullock, a Northerner and governor of Georgia, obtained some \$600,000 in bonds and then fled the state. Governor Warmouth (Louisiana) was unquestionably the "Prince of the tribe of 'carpetbaggers,'" wrote Lieutenant Governor Dunn to Horace Greeley in 1870.<sup>13</sup> He had absolutely no scruples, no conscience, and trusted no one. He was a native of Illinois, had been dismissed by Grant, and indicted in Texas for embezzlement. He came to Louisiana broke and in less than a year had made \$100,000 and soon had \$500,000.<sup>14</sup>

In Mississippi preyed Senator General Ames who declaimed with pride that he had fought with his own right arm during the war for Mississippi, and that he had a right to stay there.<sup>15</sup> His senatorial colleague, Alcorn, said of him: "He is not a citizen of Mississippi. He has never contributed a dollar to her taxes," and has no "technical residence."<sup>16</sup> Then there was Mr. Conway, Superintendent of Education in Louisiana, who came, made his money, did not keep house as his family was still in the North, and then left.<sup>17</sup> Other individuals held two jobs, and jobs by proxy.

Perhaps the way carpetbaggers worked and what they did will be enlightening. The times and conditions at the close of the war were propitious for such workers. The Army had been placed in complete charge throughout the South. The officers many times were cohorts of individual carpetbaggers. In Florida, they took supplies sent by the government for the "freedmen" and ran large plantations with them or ran stores.<sup>18</sup> They quickly decapitated civil authorities right and left and replaced them with "carpetbagger" friends.<sup>19</sup>

One governor wrote:

A military chieftain was transferred from headquarters in the saddle to head-quarters in Atlanta. This man came . . . with despotic power

. . . to remove from office anyone of their [the people's] chosen public servants. And these things—shades of Washington, Jefferson, and Madison—were done. This chieftain removed Governor Jenkins for refusing to turn over \$40,000.00. . . . Then he and his colleagues took within their grasp every dollar of the subsequently incoming revenue of the state. *Nevertheless, they went out with cleaner hands than their successors, the so-called representatives of the people . . . up-start pretenders.*<sup>20</sup>

The preceding lines refer to the carpetbaggers who came into power after the Army was withdrawn. Besides the Army, United States Treasury agents also worked with the carpetbaggers at first. Although the Secretary of State warned the President in 1866 of the folly of sending Northern revenue men into the South,<sup>21</sup> men were sent to search for cotton and branded mules and horses but soon became fortune hunters, accepted bribes and sold confiscated goods in their own names.<sup>22</sup>

A still better picture of the carpetbaggers is seen by examining their work with the "Freedmen's Bureau," which had been extended for two years more by the Second Freedmen's Bureau Act of July 16, 1866.<sup>23</sup> Originally, the Bureau had been created to protect the Negro and to aid him. Soon Bureau officials and carpetbaggers had become synonymous, one and the same. They began to labor assiduously to perfect party machines to control the state governments<sup>24</sup> for "the purpose of swindling the Negro, plundering the white man, and defrauding the government."<sup>25</sup>

Even the Federal money appropriated for the social and economic welfare of the Negro was used by the Bureau and the carpetbaggers to organize the political machines.<sup>26</sup> Here one begins to see the enormity of their greed. Small fry were not for them when they once started. Wallace sums up a Negro's view well—in retrospect:

The Freedmen's Bureau . . . in the hands of bad men proved, instead of a blessing, to be the worst curse of the race, as, under it, he was misled, debased, and betrayed . . . the great majority of the agents were more oppressive of

<sup>11</sup> Benjamin J. Hill, *His Life, Speeches, and Writings*, pp. 294-307.

<sup>12</sup> J. Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule in Florida*, p. 334.

<sup>13</sup> House Report No. 92, 42 Congress, 2 Session, pp. 24-25.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> J. W. Garner, *Reconstruction in Mississippi*, p. 291.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 192.

<sup>17</sup> S. W. Scott, W. L. Fleming, *Documentary History of Reconstruction*, I, 47.

<sup>18</sup> J. Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule in Florida*, p. 41.

<sup>19</sup> C. G. Bowers, *The Tragic Era*, p. 216.

<sup>20</sup> Ex-Governor Jenkins to Governor Smith, March 15, 1872.

<sup>21</sup> Executive Documents, No. 81, 39 Congress, 1 Session in Fleming, *Documentary History of Reconstruction*, I, 190-191.

<sup>22</sup> J. T. Trowbridge, *The South*, p. 568.

<sup>23</sup> Acts and Resolutions, 39 Congress, 1 Session, p. 191, in W. L. Fleming, *Documentary History of Reconstruction*, I, 190-191.

<sup>24</sup> C. G. Bowers, *The Tragic Era*, p. 198.

<sup>25</sup> Wade Hampton to P. Johnson (1866) in Fleming, *Documentary History of Reconstruction*, XI, 367.

<sup>26</sup> House Report No. 121, 41 Congress, 2 Session, 47, 53. (Howard Investigation), 1870.



the freedmen than the local authorities, their former masters.<sup>27</sup>

In their fight for greater power in each of the Southern states, every factor was in the carpetbaggers' favor. The Negro had just been enfranchised while the "Test Oath" had seriously depleted the voting power of the "old-timers." All that was needed now was enough organized Negro support to overbalance the conservative native whites. One of the first efforts towards such organized support was made by Thomas W. Osburn, commissioner of the "Bureau" for Florida. The success of his first secret meeting with the Negroes which resulted in the organization of the "Lincoln Brotherhood" led to the establishment of subordinate leagues all over the state.<sup>28</sup> Quickly the idea spread with Southern scalawags lending helping hands. In North Carolina, Ex-Governor Holden soon had 80,000 belonging to his "Red Strings."<sup>29</sup> Others developed under different names as the different factions of carpetbaggers recognized the possibilities. The Republican National Committee sent organizers in 1867 to Florida to develop a league, "the Loyal League of America," as a competitor of Osburn's local leagues.<sup>30</sup> In Virginia, the factions threatened to defeat the purpose of the organization of Union Leagues.<sup>31</sup>

The method employed by the carpetbaggers in obtaining and keeping Negro support in these leagues throws much more light on the personality of the carpetbagger. One of the best weapons was to inform the Negroes that the government required such membership.<sup>32</sup> Another was that such leagues were needed among the Negroes to prevent a return to slavery.<sup>33</sup> Still another was to promise the Negroes that the government would give each forty acres of his former master's land and a mule.<sup>34</sup> Such promises, along with initiation ceremonies full of mysteries, secretiveness, coffins, and skulls, deeply impressed the freedmen.<sup>35</sup> When they became restless some of the carpetbaggers converted their clubs into military organizations and drilled day and night filling the Southern whites with constant fear.<sup>36</sup> When

the Negroes became inquisitive and asked why the Negroes of the North had not been allowed to vote, the carpetbag leaders would reply that it was chiefly because the states had, in the past, been controlled by the Democratic party.<sup>37</sup>

And why shouldn't the Negroes believe them? Did not the carpetbag leaders drink with the Negro men from the same bottle? Did they not dance with the Negro women? More than that, at the meetings, the carpetbaggers would say: "If my colored brother and myself touch elbows at the polls, why should not his child and mine stand side by side in the public schools?"<sup>38</sup> Or they would take up the little darkies and kiss them, and on hearing a freedman say "That man is a good Republican," they would shout: "Jesus Christ was a Republican."<sup>39</sup> "Pig Iron Kelly" returned to the North giving glowing accounts of superior Negro genius.<sup>40</sup> Ex-Governor Holden even incited them by telling them that North Carolina had made 100,000 bales of cotton in 1866, yet here they were still poor, still really slaves.<sup>41</sup>

Gradually the Negro began to feel his importance saying: "Know the true thing in politics . . . teach your children . . . that they may grow up big mouthed radicals."<sup>42</sup> Another one said: "The bottom rail am on de top and we's gwineteer keep it dar."<sup>43</sup>

Little did they realize where the bottom rail really was, or what their friends, the carpetbaggers, really were. Horace Greeley assuredly did, however, when he wrote: "They are greatly concerned for the education of the blacks and the salvation of their souls. 'Let us pray', they say, but they spell 'pray' with an 'e' and thus spelled they obey the apostolic injunction to 'pray without ceasing'."<sup>44</sup>

These are a few of the representative practices of the leaders of the carpetbaggers. It took several years for the Negroes to realize the true situation, but in the early seventies, Nordhoff was able to write: "I have found scarcely a colored man out of office who did not complain to me that the Republican whites are as faithless to their duty as they believe the other side would be."<sup>45</sup> We might easily substitute carpetbaggers for Republican whites here as the other constituents of Republican whites, chiefly "scalawags," were relatively few.

The utter unscrupulousness of some of the characters is further shown by examining the "Freed-

<sup>27</sup> *Carpetbag Rule in Florida*, pp. 40-41; for the northern view see *House Report* No. 121, 41 Congress, 2 Session, 20, 1871.

<sup>28</sup> J. Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule in Florida*, pp. 43 ff.

<sup>29</sup> C. G. Bowers, *The Tragic Era*, p. 203.

<sup>30</sup> J. Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule in Florida*, pp. 45-46.

<sup>31</sup> W. L. Fleming, *Documents Relating to Reconstruction*, No. 3, 3-35; H. J. Eckenrode, *The Political History of Virginia during Reconstruction*, 67; C. G. Bowers, *The Tragic Era*, p. 200.

<sup>32</sup> J. Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule in Florida*, p. 42.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43 ff.

<sup>34</sup> W. L. Fleming, *Documentary History of Reconstruction*, I, 355; W. L. Fleming, *Documents Relating to Reconstruction*, No. 1 and 7, 3, 56.

<sup>35</sup> J. Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule in Florida*, pp. 42-47.

<sup>36</sup> J. G. Hamilton, *The Correspondence of Jonathan Worth*, II, 963.

<sup>37</sup> C. G. Bowers, *The Tragic Era*, 204.

<sup>38</sup> "Carpetbagger," J. R. Pitkin in J. R. Flicker, *History of Reconstruction in Louisiana*, p. 188.

<sup>39</sup> J. Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule in Florida*, p. 63.

<sup>40</sup> C. G. Bowers, *The Tragic Era*, p. 202.

<sup>41</sup> Worth to B. Brown, January 12, 1867, in J. G. Hamilton, *The Correspondence of Jonathan Worth*, II, 845-846.

<sup>42</sup> C. G. Bowers, *The Tragic Era*, p. 200.

<sup>43</sup> E. B. Andrews, *The Last Quarter Century*, I, 120.

<sup>44</sup> *House Report*, No. 92, 42 Congress, 2 Session, pp. 24-25.

<sup>45</sup> Quoted in W. L. Fleming, *Documentary History of Reconstruction*, II, 49.

men's Savings and Trust Company" established with branches throughout the South to help the negroes. The freedmen could not write and so were swindled and swindled until the banks finally were forced to close.<sup>46</sup> As president of the company, Frederick Douglas, in humiliation for his part in the crooked institution on learning the true state of the company, wrote "the trustees had not a dollar in them," their own banks.<sup>47</sup>

To appreciate the carpetbaggers' foresight, desire, and cunning in organizing the Negro support to boost them into state offices, one need only narrate a few of their deeds, and the effects of those deeds as public servants, public servants of counties, districts and even states—many times utterly unknown to them.

Perhaps a picture of the general personnel of some of the state assemblies, conventions, and legislatures will clarify the reader's reactions. "The delegates elected to the Alabama convention of 1867 were a motley crew—white, yellow, and black" consisting of eighteen from the Freedmen's Bureau, eighteen blacks and thirty-eight Northern whites (who had voted for each other several times) in a total body of 100.<sup>48</sup> Here an Ohioan recognized a Pennsylvanian who nominated a New Yorker. Even the radical *New York Herald* dubbed this body, "The Black Crook."<sup>49</sup> S. A. Hale, a New Hampshire Unionist living in Alabama at this time, stated: "The two white delegates from this county were strangers here. One is a vagrant here from New York, the other I had never heard of until the day of his nomination."<sup>50</sup>

In South Carolina, blacks, controlled by carpetbaggers, predominated, there being only fifteen whites, eight of whom were carpetbaggers.<sup>51</sup> In Arkansas, the assembly was described as "the bastard collection" or "the menagerie."<sup>52</sup> Bowers called them "political parasites, looters, scallawags, scavengers, knaves, and fools. . . ."<sup>53</sup> When one learns that, of the states having been restored by 1868, ten of the fourteen senators, twenty of the thirty-five United States representatives, and four of the seven governors were carpetbaggers,<sup>54</sup> than one begins to realize the strength of their hold and the thoroughness of their work in the South. They maintained, however,

that it was highly advantageous to the Southern states to have officials from the North.<sup>55</sup>

"Not so!" shout the records. The state officials and representatives, being non-tax payers themselves,<sup>56</sup> hesitated not one instant in spending the states' money. Alabama's state debt rose dramatically from \$8,000,000 in 1868 to \$25,000,000 in 1874.<sup>57</sup> In South Carolina, the debt climbed from \$5,000,000 to \$18,000,000 by 1870.<sup>58</sup> Arkansas owed \$3,500,000 in 1868. In 1875, she staggered under a debt of \$15,700,000.<sup>59</sup> Louisiana's obligation expanded \$9,000,000 in two years, but the state auditor estimated in 1871 that four years of "carpetbag" rule actually had cost Louisiana \$106,000,000.<sup>60</sup>

How could they spend so much money, or better, how did they do it? They voted themselves 30 per cent bonuses on top of already extravagantly liberal salaries; they granted each other \$600.00 to \$700.00 for traveling expenses of twenty miles;<sup>61</sup> they appointed small committees of six or seven to investigate one state district for five months allowing them \$68,000 for expenses;<sup>62</sup> they increased the printing bills 200, 300, and 400 per cent; and when normal state money ran low, they confiscated 1,200 to 2,500 tracts of land at a time to sell for taxes, sometimes acquiring \$15,000 or \$20,000 estates for themselves, or their cronies, for as little as \$80.00.<sup>63</sup> The public frauds became so common that the very ignorant Negro representatives in Florida, becoming "wise," organized a "Smelling Committee" among themselves to seek out new carpetbagger plots that they themselves might share in them.<sup>64</sup> Individual disputes over the spoils in the legislature often terminated in pugilistic encounters while other members shouted encouragement to the combatants.

Here, then, is the picture of carpetbaggers to 1870. In 1870 they were still in full stride. The same train had brought the bread to feed, the officer to oppress, the emissary to breed strife and to rob, and "the carpetbaggers" to "hit and run." Since there were so many plunderers in the field, it has been practically impossible to ascertain that the carpetbaggers did just this and this. It is enough

<sup>46</sup> House Report, No. 502, 44 Congress, 1 Session, p. 29.

<sup>47</sup> *Life and Times of F. Douglas by Himself*, in W. L. Fleming, *Documentary History of Reconstruction*, I, 386.

<sup>48</sup> W. L. Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama*, p. 517.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 517-519.

<sup>50</sup> W. L. Fleming, *Documentary History of Reconstruction*, 11, 144.

<sup>51</sup> C. G. Bowers, *The Tragic Era*, 205.

<sup>52</sup> T. S. Staples, *Reconstruction in Arkansas*, p. 21; C. G. Bowers, *The Tragic Era*, p. 216.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 219.

<sup>54</sup> W. A. Dunning, *Reconstruction, Political and Economic*, 12.

<sup>55</sup> D. H. Chamberlain of Massachusetts at the "Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of South Carolina" in W. L. Fleming, *Documentary History of Reconstruction*, I, 449.

<sup>56</sup> The average tax the representatives paid in 1868 was \$3.12. J. S. Reynolds, *Reconstruction in South Carolina*, p. 108.

<sup>57</sup> E. B. Andrews, *The Last Quarter Century*, I, 124, 128.

<sup>58</sup> J. S. Reynolds, *Reconstruction in South Carolina*, 134; W. L. Fleming, *Documents Relating to Reconstruction*, No. 4-5, pp. 3-40.

<sup>59</sup> C. Nordhoff, *The Cotton States in 1875*, pp. 29-31.

<sup>60</sup> E. B. Andrews, *Last Quarter Century in the United States*, I, 130.

<sup>61</sup> J. Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule in Florida*, p. 53.

<sup>62</sup> J. S. Reynolds, *Reconstruction in South Carolina*, pp. 131-132.

<sup>63</sup> J. T. Trowbridge, *The South*, p. 567.

<sup>64</sup> J. Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule in Florida*, p. 103.

to remember that they were practically the most numerous part of everything with few who could or did stop their progress.

Having painted the "carpetbaggers" at their worst it is only proper to say in conclusion that their outrages were not unparalleled in history nor were they even original for their own times. In the North their brothers were preying on each other; Congress was passing the "Salary Grab," Oakes Ames was manipulating his "Crédit Mobilier," and Tweed and his ring were robbing the New York City Treasury.<sup>65</sup> In the South they had furnished at least some impetus to the laying of the foundation stone to Henry W. Grady's *The New South*<sup>66</sup> and to what

was historically and politically more significant, a "Solid South."

#### CONCLUSION

If the Northern soldiers, as students, had had a chance to see these pictures through a Southerner's eyes, no matter how biased it may have been, they might now comprehend the real meaning of Mark Antony's famous lines: "The evil that men do live after them. The good is oft interred with their bones"—and be less shocked. There is also the possibility that a more sympathetic understanding would have been facilitated, the kind of understanding that leads to oneness. At the moment few can blame an intelligent Southerner who looks at the natural resources of the South and then at its economic conditions from doing something more than merely wondering "why?"

## Benjamin Franklin—A Great American

THE NATIONAL FRANKLIN COMMITTEE

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Today America is living spectacularly in the present, with all her senses and faculties geared to the immediate job of war. For many, there is no time for reflection. There is no time for troops on Guadalcanal to philosophize about their country's past; or for factory workers to drop their tools and pick up history books; or for women working for the first time and running households, as well, to consider events of former years.

Yet these Americans carry with them the sum of America's past. Unconsciously or consciously, they are the inheritors of her traditions and the heirs of the great men and great moments that have made the United States the hope of the oppressed world in 1943. And wherever they go, echoes of their homeland are in their hearts.

There is a Yankee private, perhaps, stationed in Hawaii. He has not thought of Benjamin Franklin since he reluctantly studied history in high school, and all he remembers learning is that Franklin was a clever and charming man who made a fortune in the printing business and then devoted himself to the cause of independence, signing the Declaration and, it is said, remarking: "We must all hang together or most assuredly we will all hang separately." But that is enough to make him borrow Franklin's *Autobiography* from the U.S.O. library—and he never regrets his choice. For there in the archaic accents of colonial New England, he reads words that take him home to Philadelphia:

Then I turned and went down Chestnut-street and part of Walnut-street, eating my roll all

the way, and, coming round, found myself again at Market-street wharf. . . ."

An officer in charge of constructing a base hospital in North Africa plans for a lightning rod, remembers the story of how Franklin discovered electricity, shows a little native boy the mysteries of a kite.

A Quaker girl, helping French children in Paris, sees in an antique shop an eighteenth century miniature of Franklin—one of the thousands painted by the French. The features of that well-known face are like a brass band playing "Yankee Doodle" or a "slab" of apple pie in a diner. They are America for this girl in Hitler's Paris, recalling to her that freedom of worship which Franklin's good offices for the Quakers in Pennsylvania helped to secure for her ancestors and herself.

And we can imagine that it seems good to Johnny Doughboy in Ireland to hear his Irish rose quote his countryman's words: "Innocence is its own defense." Or to see the familiar Franklin wisdom on the factory wall: "Lost time is never found again." Or to think ruefully at reveille: "The sleeping fox catches no poultry."

And we at home can find strength in recalling through Franklin, the longevity of the American fight for freedom, the durability of our principles, and the trials suffered by our ancestors to bequeath to us the present United States.

Those trials are implicit in words written by Benjamin Franklin during the days of the Revolution:



The eyes of Christendom are upon us, and our honor as a people has become a matter of the utmost consequence to be taken care of. If we give up our rights in this contest, a century to come will not restore us to the opinion of the world; we shall be stamped with the character of . . . poltroons and fools. . . . Present inconveniences are, therefore, to be borne with fortitude, and better times expected.

Franklin was a universal genius, and for that reason people in many walks of life can find in him reflections of themselves. He was scientist, wit, scholar; he was statesman, family man and cosmopolitan; he could be a success in business or an author with equal ease. He made contributions that have lasted even to our own day in innumerable, varied fields, from navigation to diplomacy, but above all, he was a patriot who unconsciously absorbed the character and philosophy of the new world that was shaping in the American hemisphere when he was born, until finally he found himself in mortal opposition to the way of life in the Old World and a rebel against the tyranny and oppression of Europe.

Franklin was born in Boston, Massachusetts, on January 17, 1706, the son of a tallow-chandler and soap maker, who had emigrated from England, and a Nantucket housewife "discreet and virtuous." He had only two years of schooling before he was apprenticed at twelve years of age to his half-brother, James, who was a printer. Feeling that his apprenticeship cramped him, he went to Philadelphia when he was seventeen and set out on his own, working in several different printing houses. He made his first trip to England in 1724, when the Governor of Pennsylvania promised that he would use his influence to set the young printer up in business after he had made connections in the home country. The Governor's promise proved to be hollow, and after a year and a half working for the London printers, Franklin returned to America on his own.

The young man began quickly to make good, building his growing success on those principles of character which he was later to make famous—industry, frugality and diligence. To these he added ability, business sense, and a talent for advertising. He made it a point, for example, not only to be industrious, but to let the neighbors know it. In 1729 he purchased a half interest in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, and a year later bought the other half. He then married Deborah Read, whom he had courted before his English interlude.

In a remarkably short time, the *Pennsylvania Gazette* had achieved the largest circulation in the Colonies, and Franklin began to expand into other publishing ventures. *Poor Richard's Almanack* was

the most famous of these, and has since been translated in the language of every country that owns a printing press. The *Almanack* was a Colonial best seller, and its sayings have become part of American folklore. Of course, the influence of such a book is not a subject for statistical calculation, but its homely precepts, common sense and good writing gave it a place beside the Bible in Colonial households.

The *Almanack* materially advanced Franklin's fortunes. His position was also substantially helped by his flair for group organization, a talent which helped as well to launch many of Franklin's own improvements and patriotic projects. A gregarious kind of man, with many friends and a great respect for the usefulness of the interchange of opinion and social organization, he established a famous club, the Junto, which was made up of the leading middle-class business men in Philadelphia. Meetings of the Junto were a compound of intellectual exchange, civic endeavor and mutual business help. Discussions were on subjects varying from reports on recent books to whether there was some worthy young man who deserved the help of the members.

The Junto helped Franklin to become one of the leading citizens of Philadelphia, to which city he added a number of striking improvements. Among other things he contributed was the first volunteer fire company, the first insurance company, and the first charity hospital. He improved the paving in many of the streets and reformed the police department. He founded the University of Pennsylvania, based on progressive educational theories. He also established the first subscription library in America and the American Philosophical Society.

In 1748 he took a partner into his printing business and retired from active participation in its affairs. Through the years, he had acquired the education that he had missed as a boy, reading the best works of the best minds of all time, teaching himself languages and the mathematics he had failed in school, going without food to buy books, and giving his scarce free time to study. His intellectual curiosity would have led him to acquire knowledge under any circumstances. Now his retirement gave him time to devote to the intellectual pursuits he dearly loved. He had the chance now to turn his energies to the latest in scientific thought and to make experiments in electricity, then his main interest.

It was at this time that he performed the experiments proving the identity of lightning and electricity that led to his invention of the lightning rod. This brought him world-wide fame, saving countless numbers of lives and an inestimable amount of money and property. His interest in science, however, did not begin and end with electricity. Among

innumerable other things, he attempted to chart the Gulf Stream, worked out the direction of storms, cultivated new crops, such as kohlrabi, and invented a host of articles, such as the still-used Franklin stove, a smokeless fireplace, bifocals and a wooden arm for taking down books from shelves.

During these years, he was being drawn more and more into affairs of government, serving as Clerk in the Pennsylvania Assembly 1736-1751, as a Member for Philadelphia 1751-64, as Deputy Postmaster 1737-1753, and as Joint Deputy Postmaster General for all the colonies from 1753-1774. In this last office, he accomplished a remarkable job of organizing the mail system on an efficient, serviceable, and paying basis.

Meanwhile, the colonies, despite internal skirmishes and dissension, were drawing closer and closer together, beginning to feel that their interests were one and the same. In Pennsylvania a bitter struggle was developing between the colonies and the royal proprietors. There was as yet no talk of independence, but the feeling of mutual interest that was tying together the colonies began to be apparent in such affairs as Franklin's Plan of Union, which he presented to the Albany Congress in 1754.

The struggle with the proprietors in Philadelphia reached such a point that Franklin was sent to London to argue the case before the home government. He remained in England from 1757-1775, except for a two year interval, becoming more and more the unofficial ambassador of the colonies in their increasing anger against the British government. As time went on and nothing could be obtained from the British government, Franklin came to agree with those who had been talking rebellion, and he returned to America convinced at last that it was his native land and that it held the principles he loved.

Franklin was no hot-head, but a man of courage and moral character. He liked the reasonable way of doing things, and this made him a pacifist. He believed until the very last moment that the British could be made to see the light by argument, by propaganda, by appealing to their morals and their minds. He hated war. He was the man who said: "There never has been, nor ever will be, any such thing as a *good* war, or a *bad* peace." And yet when the moment came, this rational man, who knew a good business deal when he saw it, who could have had a high place among the royalists, who loathed war, whose son was governor of New Jersey and a king's man, and who was already seventy years old, threw in his lot with the underdog, called on the Colonists to fight, and signed the Declaration of Independence. "Rebellion to tyrants," he said, "is obedience to God."

During the Revolution, Franklin's most important

accomplishment was securing a Treaty of Alliance with France. In the years he was there, he became one of the most dearly loved individuals in the country, and every class welcomed him, from the aristocrats, who delighted in his manners and charm, to the republicans and people, who liked his ideas, his simplicity, and his Americanism. Some believe that without Franklin's influence in France at this time, the colonies might have been defeated in their struggle for independence.

The peace signed, Franklin returned to an America that was pulling itself together into a nation. In 1787, after a lifetime devoted to the service of his country, to the protection of freedom of speech, religion and thought, to the advance of education and opportunity, and to the increase of knowledge, he accomplished his greatest service—the signing of the Constitution of the United States. Three years later he died in Philadelphia.

The name of Franklin conjures up a variety of very diverse pictures to many Americans. They see him as the old sage preaching sugar-coated homilies; or they see him as a bewigged and bespectacled and rather eccentric scientist engrossed with the activities of a kite; or they see him as a prosperous business man surrounded by other prosperous business men intent upon income and dividends; or they see him charming a countess with a pointed *bon mot*; or they see him with his pen moving glibly in the composition of an Addison-like essay; or they see him advising his wife on domestic matters and making good friends of many children. And all these Franklins—including others—are Franklin. In many ways he is quick-silver—you cannot pick him up in one piece. No summary can do justice to this great personality or tell how much he sacrificed for his country and for the great cause of freedom.

We can today, however, read the words he wrote over a hundred and fifty years ago, and realize their pertinence to present America:

All Europe is on our side of the question, as far as applause and good wishes can carry them. Those who live under arbitrary power do nevertheless approve of liberty, and wish for it; . . . and there are such numbers everywhere who talk of removing to America, with their families and fortunes, as soon as peace and our independence shall be established, that it is generally believed we shall have a prodigious addition of strength, wealth, and arts from the emigrations of Europe; and it is thought that, to lessen or prevent such emigrations, the tyrannies established there must relax, and allow more liberty to their people. Hence it is a common observation here, that our cause is *the cause of all mankind*, and that we are fighting for their liberty in defending our own.

# Visual and Other Aids

MAURICE P. HUNT

Kenton High School, Kenton, Ohio

News items have accumulated at such a rapid pace that, in order to avoid letting them become out-of-date, I shall dispense with the article and devote the entire column to news notes.

A film of outstanding merit, entitled *World of Plenty*, has come to the attention of this writer. Part of this film as made by a March of Time camera crew in the United States, part by Paul Rotha Productions in England, and the remainder is a combination of selections from British and American documentary films. The script was prepared by the late Eric Knight, author of *This Above All*. The film deals with the production, distribution, and consumption of food. It describes the "over-production" and destruction of food to maintain prices of the pre-war period, the problem of malnutrition, and the importance of food in the war effort. This picture is on 16 mm. sound film, and contains four reels. *World of Plenty* may be rented from most distributors, and may be rented or purchased from The British Information Services, 360 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

The Council Against Intolerance in America, 17 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York, has a publication entitled *American Unity*, which is sent free to teachers upon request. This booklet aims to give teachers practical suggestions on considering the problem of intolerance in the classroom and to show teachers how to discover and counteract the underlying causes of prejudice in the home, the school, and the individual.

Many social studies teachers have read of the controversy aroused when the pamphlet *The Races of Mankind* was dropped from use in the army training program. For the benefit of those not familiar with this pamphlet, it was prepared by Professor Ruth Benedict and Dr. Gene Weltfish, eminent anthropologists, in an attempt to present in popular style the best scientific knowledge available on the differences between races. This booklet should prove of no little value to social studies teachers who are trying to combat racial antagonisms. It is available from the Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York City, for ten cents.

R.K.O. is producing a series of films entitled *This is America*. The series will contain thirteen 16 mm. films depicting the story of America at war. One or two films of the series is being released each month during the year. The series will contain such titles as *Army Chaplain*, *Boomtown, D.C.* (the story of

war-time Washington), *Air Crew* (the training of a Navy flier), *Medicine on Guard* (combatting disease in a defense town), and *Merchant Seamen*. For a free brochure illustrating each of the thirteen films, write to Pictorial Films, Inc., R.K.O. Building (Radio City), New York.

Brandon Films, 1600 Broadway, New York 19, New York, is distributing a Russian-made film entitled *Road to Life*. This is a feature-length movie depicting the reclamation of homeless and wayward children in Russia after World War I. The film has applicability to our own problem of juvenile delinquency and has been termed by critics "one of the world's greatest films." It runs for 95 minutes and rents for \$15. Although songs and dialogue are in Russian, the film has English titles.

Long Filmslide Service, 944 Regal Road, Berkeley, California, will make slides or filmslides from materials sent in to them. In addition to this service, this company has a variety of prepared slides for sale. Included among these are Kodachrome transparencies of scenes in the American West and Hawaii, and outline maps of the continents and oceans mounted on glass slides.

Teachers interested in using slidefilms should write for the *Pictorial Catalog* of the Society for Visual Education, 100 East Ohio Street, Chicago, Illinois. This organization has a great variety of slidefilms for use by social studies teachers, particularly on the elementary level. These slidefilms are keyed according to the particular textbook and chapter of the book with which they may be used. The Society for Visual Education also has a wide selection of Kodachrome slides. The Society is the publisher of the widely-circulated *Audio-Visual Handbook* by Ellsworth C. Dent.

The Education Section, War Finance Division, Treasury Department, Washington 25, D.C. has a 35 mm. filmstrip for use in elementary social studies classes. This filmstrip is entitled *The Story of Billy Dollar*, and was designed to promote war savings through stamps and bonds. Schools may obtain this filmstrip free of charge upon request.

The American Library Association, 520 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, has materials which should be of interest to both social studies teachers and librarians. Included in these materials are a "Source List of War-Related Publicity Materials," information on making displays of various sorts, and bulletin board posters aimed at encourag-



ing reading. Write to them for these free materials.

Teachers should not neglect radio programs as teaching aids. There are many valuable programs, some of which may be listened to during classroom hours (if the room is equipped with a radio, or if the school has a central radio-sound system) and others of which may be assigned to pupils for home listening. NBC and CBS both publish advance listings each month of programs of an educational or cultural nature. These listings are free to teachers. For the NBC listing, write to "This is The National Broadcasting Company," Room 217, 30 Rockefeller Plaza,

New York 20, N. Y. For the CBS listing, write to the Columbia Broadcasting System, 485 Madison Avenue, New York City.

Father Hubbard Educational Films, 188 West Randolph Street, Chicago, Illinois, report several late films portraying our armed forces and industry at war. Among these are *Courageous Australia*, telling little-known facts about that country; *Guardians of the Sea*, a story of the U.S. Coast Guard in action; and *Men of West Point*, showing the training program of that institution. Further information will be supplied upon request.

## News and Comment

MORRIS WOLF

Head, Social Studies Department, Girard College, Philadelphia

### HIGHLIGHTS OF TOMORROW'S EDUCATION

Teachers who contemplate the educational changes which before long will affect the work of their schools will find guidance in the previews which are appearing in almost every issue of the educational journals. Although the facts of the future may make a mockery of them, the need to be forehanded will lead the wise teacher to note and weigh the prophecies. Only a few samples from the stream of articles can be mentioned here.

Professor William Clark Trow of the University of Michigan bravely assayed the future in American education, in an article in the *University of Michigan School of Education Bulletin* for last November. Important excerpts from it were given in *The Education Digest* for February, under the title "Education After the War." Professor Trow lists ten changes in education which are likely to come about:

1. Financial discrimination will be reduced, if not eliminated. The payment of men in uniform, while they attend school, sets the precedent.
2. Correspondence study will be increased. Again the Army shows the way in unit courses and special methods designed to meet a definite objective.
3. Psychological services will be more fully developed. Tests devised for military personnel hold high promise for civilian use. Educational fitness may be determined by them rather than by the completion of the traditional semester hours and credits.
4. There will be a greater emphasis on programs of study and less on a multiplication of courses. The content of a program will include the knowledge, skills, and techniques required by the objective, as the training of an air pilot requires physics, mathe-

matics, meteorology, etc. Electives, however, may supply specific subjects that cater to individual interests and special talents. It will be essential to know the capacities of individuals, in order that they be directed to programs for which they possess competence.

5. Objectives will be more clearly defined. The educational objectives in the military services are clear cut, and learning is geared directly to purpose. Motivation is tremendously boosted as a result. Training in the narrow sense rather than education in the broad sense is the usual outcome. But the two are not irreconcilable. Liberal education can profit from the definition of clearer goals.

6. Greater emphasis will be placed on learning to do. This may mean more use of the problem method, linking knowledge and doing.

7. More intensive training will be required. Men in uniform must meet definite standards, must learn accurately and thoroughly. The school may become uncongenial for the lazy and the lackadaisical.

8. Language study will be more effective. The Army, now, is teaching men at least to understand and speak a foreign language in one year.

9. Social studies courses will be supplemented by programs of regional study. The men who went to Sicily did not study its history, geography, economics, etc., but studied Sicilian culture by putting together the knowledge supplied by those social sciences.

10. The educational goal of good citizenship will be more widely accepted.

A perspective on our own problem is supplied by viewing "England's Reconstruction in Education." In the same issue of *The Education Digest* there is a

summary of Britain's plans by Sir Fred Clarke, Director of the University of London Institute of Education, based on his accounts in the October and November (1943) numbers of *Britain Today*.

The British government already has its plan for postwar education. It provides for primary or elementary education for children aged five to eleven. Secondary education includes ages eleven to sixteen and will require the raising of the school-leaving age to sixteen. There will be further, part-time education, probably one full day per week to begin with, until eighteen.

Secondary education will have three principal curriculums: an academic or college-preparatory; a technical or vocational; and an intermediate or general and less specialized curriculum. Some Britons favor separate schools for each curriculum. Others, especially labor, favor the inclusion of all curriculums in one school, "the large, all purpose, 'multi-lateral' school" common in the United States. Britain's Grammar and Junior Technical Schools already suggest the first two curriculums. The existing "'Senior'" schools can be raised and expanded into the Modern School which will offer the general curriculum. Technical and Young People's Colleges will cater to the youth between sixteen and eighteen, suggesting somewhat our junior colleges.

Sir Fred describes the local interest in this plan and the problems of reorganizing administration and local boards of control, of supplying financial support, and kindred matters. At present Britain supplies half the financial support and local taxes the remainder. It is expected that the central government will supply at least 55 per cent of the support. Although the problems of which he speaks are British, with few exceptions each has its American counterpart. For that reason his article is of interest to American teachers.

A two-page outline of British education today and the program for tomorrow is given in the March number of *The Journal* of the National Education Association where Superintendent McClure of Seattle, recently returned from England, tells how "The Schools of England Carry On."

A complement of Professor Trow's article is the analysis of the postwar pattern which was given in February's *Teachers College Record* by Professor Will French ("A Setting for Postwar Youth Education"). Educational planning should take twelve basic characteristics of tomorrow's world into account. Each of these was discussed briefly by Dr. French:

1. Democratic processes are better means for reaching a better world than are autocratic ones.
2. The United States of America will be an effective world power.

3. American citizens will be deciding questions which will require a higher level of social, economic, and political competence than has been demanded of them in the past.
4. The scope and amount of governmental responsibility both at home and abroad will increase.
5. Governmental military and civil service will call for the work of many citizens.
6. Despite the expanded activities of government and the enlarged force of government workers, we shall still have a "mixed economy."
7. The postwar decade ought to be one of practically "full" employment.
8. Organized labor will earn and play a large and more responsible part in our economic life.
9. Ours will be an even more highly developed technological society.
10. Better urban life will be developed.
11. Food production for the world and distribution to the world will be a major activity.
12. Better racial and cultural relationships will be developed.

On this last item, in the same issue of the *Record*, Frances G. Sweeney of the Horace Mann-Lincoln School makes some useful comments in her excellent article on "The World Neighborhood."

#### FREE ENTERPRISE IN AMERICA

William O. Stanley, Visiting Professor of Education at the University of Illinois, described what is happening to "Free Enterprise in America," in the December 15 number of *Frontiers of Democracy* which appeared in February. His article can be read and re-read with great profit. While Professor Stanley presents material familiar to specialists in economics, his exposition ably and clearly marks out the roots and main branches of our economy, the changes it has been undergoing, and the probable lines of development that stretch out ahead.

Professor Stanley relates how the thinkers and business leaders of a few centuries ago, in their efforts to free themselves from the social philosophy and institutional controls of the Middle Ages, devised an opposite philosophy based on natural law and individualism. From it emerged the classical theory of free, private enterprise.

The Industrial Revolution and the resultant growth of large-scale, capitalistic production have, decade by decade, eroded the system of competitive, small business and the free market. Individual enterprise waned while corporate enterprise waxed. The large corporation, like a government, calls for collective, disciplined effort more than it does the individual

initiative and venture of free enterprise, in the traditional sense. It is itself an evidence of the collectivization of our economy.

In recent generations, as is now familiar, the control of corporate enterprise has been largely divorced from ownership. At the same time the cartelization of industry has done much to make the free market a myth. Yet business men talk of free enterprise. The people believe it still exists, if only government and labor will leave it alone. But economists know that our economy actually has little resemblance to the classical system of free enterprise.

We as a people are confused. We have a corporate economy but as we look at it we think we see free enterprise. The confusion must be resolved else the nation will reap evil from treating one economy by the methods suited only to another. Students propose four main alternatives to harmonize fact and outlook.

Some propose that the existing economic system be made to conform to our conception of free enterprise. They would return to "normalcy." As soon as possible, they would reduce government controls and restore laissez faire. The public wants mass-produced goods. Concentrations of capital—corporations or some similarly functioning, large-scale organization—are essential to mass production. Can the traditional equality of economic opportunity, free markets and free competition, individual initiative and venture—normalcy—survive under the conditions of mass production?

Others recognize that government regulation is here to stay. But they oppose economic planning which they say leads to dictatorship. They see one protection against that, namely the restoration of the free market. Government regulation should provide the conditions essential to maintain a free market. Enforcement of anti-trust laws, lowered tariffs, encouragement of competition, and prevention of combinations in banking, industry, agriculture, and labor are proposed to that end. Can business be again atomized? Will "Big Business" permit it? Is it possible to have a free market, in the traditional sense, in the face of existing technology and mass-production methods?

Both of these alternatives—the return to "normalcy" and the free market—view freedom as an absence of restraints. This view of freedom is merely negative and therefore passive, incapable of guiding activity. A third alternative is that business itself assume responsibility for planning, since that is necessary in the present economic order. The NRA was a business men's proposal for self regulation. By "managerial planning" full employment and a high level of production can be maintained. In times of stress, however, would not the temptation be overwhelming to cut production in order to hold up prices? This proposal of voluntary planned con-

trol by industrial management assumes that the interests of management are identical with the public interest and that none other than the managerial group is capable of planning successfully. Are these valid assumptions? Is not management interested in price levels while the public is interested in full production? Is it safe for the public to entrust such power to a group? History is full of examples of the corruptive fruits of power and of the abuses of a dominant class or group. Why does not business management suggest that planning be entrusted, as is feasible, to representatives of big and little business, agriculture, labor, and the consumer, under the general supervision of democratic government?

The fourth alternative is that of cooperative planning in a mixed economy: "positive and cooperative action on the part of government, business, labor, agriculture, and the public generally to insure, within a democratic framework, the full employment of our productive capacities to create a high standard of living for the American people." Professor Stanley outlined the program that, by and large, is the outgrowth of this alternative. It has the merit of seeking to fit conditions as they are.

With this issue, *Frontiers of Democracy* is discontinued. The Progressive Education Association has given up its publication for financial reasons. For ten years this journal did a fine job of frontier thinking in education. Its discontinuance is a great loss. At the same time, in part as a result of wartime developments, the association has changed its name to American Education Fellowship.

#### AMERICAN HISTORY CONTROVERSY

The excitement caused by the publication of the American history survey in *The New York Times*, April a year ago, has not abated wholly. Comments and references to it still appear in the journals. Interest has increased as a result of the report of the Committee on American History in Schools and Colleges (*American History in Schools and Colleges*) which Macmillan's published early this year. This committee, it will be recalled, was appointed, shortly after the *Times* survey, by the American Historical Association, the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, and the National Council for the Social Studies, with Professor Edgar B. Wesley of the University of Minnesota as chairman.

Erling Hunt, Professor of History at Teachers College, Columbia University, and Benjamin Fine, Education Editor of the *Times*, have differed on the inferences to be made from the newspaper's survey. The Wesley report has not reconciled those differences. They state them in the March number of *Progressive Education* where Professor Hunt writes that the report says "Yes" to the question "Do We



Teach Enough American History?" while Dr. Fine writes that it confirms the negative answer of the *Times* survey.

Dr. Hunt finds that the report proves that American history is not neglected in the schools. Throughout the country it is taught in the elementary school and again in the junior high school and finally in the senior high school. This fact is admitted by Dr. Fine, with the serious reservation that in the senior high school American history is offered but often is not required. Many students, particularly those taking college entrance courses, therefore do not take it.

Dr. Hunt points out that the Wesley report shows that the American history course in high schools is not being pushed out by other social studies courses and that we need neither more courses in American history, below the college level, nor more laws and requirements. American history is being taught everywhere, whether the law prescribes it or not. That students do not remember specific facts does not surprise Dr. Hunt—nor any classroom teacher—although Dr. Fine highlights that situation which had been played up in the *Times*.

The important question, says Dr. Hunt, is how to improve the quality of American history teaching. This point is stressed by the Wesley report and is, of course, acknowledged unreservedly by Dr. Fine. He urges that American history be made a requirement for all senior high school pupils and that only those trained to teach it be permitted to do so. The quality of the course and of its teaching should be improved. School boards and administrators must stop the practice of engaging coaches, assistants, practical arts teachers or others and then turning over to them classes in history (or other social studies or English). What teacher, including the coach himself, does not say "Amen" to this?

#### FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The quarterly review, *Foreign Affairs*, is one of the foremost journals in its field. The April issue offers much information and interpretation of great worth to teachers of social studies.

Wendell Willkie wrote the leading article, "Our Sovereignty: Shall We Use It?" He is convinced that the events of recent decades prove that we cannot avoid being enmeshed in global troubles by pursuing a policy of isolation. We must re-conceive national sovereignty if we would be masters of our national destiny.

I want to see our Government and people use the sovereign power of the United States in partnership with the sovereign power of other peace-loving nations to create and operate an international organization which will give better protection to the rights of all nations,

on a wider political, economic and social basis, than has ever yet been attempted in history. To my mind, mutuality of responsibility and service represents more real freedom, in the sense of freedom from wars and economic disaster, than can be gained through adherence to all the sterile formulas of exclusive national sovereignty. . . .

This means that we must expand the use of our sovereignty to the extent that other nations will expand theirs to accomplish the common purpose. If we decide to do this, we may succeed in turning the page of history which we fumbled at but failed to turn twenty-five years ago. If on the contrary we decide to continue the same static, passive and essentially frightened isolationist policy which we adopted after the last world war I feel sure we shall be heading into a third one.

This thesis Mr. Willkie supports by eloquent argument. He pays attention to its implementation but appears to be primarily concerned with the attitudes and convictions which, after all, must precede action.

Appropriate attitude and conviction, however, require appropriate machinery, in this case socio-political, for their realization. Professor Philip C. Jessup of Columbia University, in an article on "UNRRA, Sample of World Organization," classifies the kinds of such machinery actually tried out in recent generations. Some have been regional, such as the alliances and other arrangements provided by diplomatic agreement and treaty, usually designed to assure peace in a prescribed area. The arrangements were relatively simple and amorphous and not very effective.

Following the Congress of Vienna several other kinds of organization developed. One type, essentially political, was distinctly functional in character and its function made it vital. Such were the Commission of the Danube and the conferences designed to abolish the slave trade. Another type was the non-political organization such as the Universal Postal Union and the International Red Cross. Does the Pan American Union represent a mixed type?

All these types were united in the League of Nations, with its two great affiliates, the International Labor Organization and the Permanent Court of International Justice. These functional or regional, and political or non-political types are being further elaborated today. Witness the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission and the UNRRA to which reference has been made here in previous issues.

Professor Jessup believes that UNRRA is a laboratory experiment of great promise and he describes its possibilities. While many look to the establishment of some grand international, all-inclusive polit-

ical organization, it may well be that such less ambitious devices as the UNRRA and the ILO may, in the more immediate future, hold greater guarantees for peace.

Population problems of the postwar world have a vital bearing on the matters discussed by Mr. Willkie and Professor Jessup. On various occasions, including last month, attention was drawn here to articles on the question. In this issue of *Foreign Affairs*, Professor Frank W. Notestein, an authority on the subject, analyzed the problem of "Population and Power in Postwar Europe."

The equally challenging problem of the air is set forth from the British point of view by Sir Frederick Handley Page ("The Future of the Skyways").

The shrinking of the globe increases also the seriousness of the problem of how to deal with the so-called backward peoples. Already Britain is planning to provide universal education for the forty or more millions of tribesmen in her African possessions. The anthropologist, Melville J. Herskovits, canvassed what can be done in the near future about "Native Self-Government." Certainly the failure to deal justly with these peoples who, wherever they dwell, have become our neighbors, may upset global plans for permanent peace. Many of our traditional ideas about this question are now dangerous. A supplement to this article is Margery Perham's statement of "African Facts and American Criticisms."

The factors that will determine the postwar world are without number. Labor will very likely play a more important part than in any other period of history. "Labor and the Peace," by George Soule who is well known as an editor of *The New Republic*, is accordingly an important contribution to this discussion of world problems in *Foreign Affairs*. Mr. Soule argues that organized labor is essentially conservative—conserving—rather than radical or reactionary. Labor will insist upon the rights of labor and of the common man, in the light of more widely sweeping concepts of human welfare than those of prewar days. It will be in favor of a world organization, social security, and economic planning by government, management, agriculture and labor, as a working partnership.

#### RUSSIA

The *Survey Graphic* for February was the ninth in the remarkable "Calling America" series. The purpose of the number—"American-Russian-Frontiers"—is to promote common understanding.

Like ourselves, the Russians inhabit a vast country with a great frontier. Their young men look eastward as ours once looked westward. Like us, they think in large terms, whether of distance or wealth or population. They are optimistic, realistic, energetic, humorous, confident. The traits they have in

common with us are perhaps more pronounced because Russia is bigger than we are. Perhaps they are more pronounced because most of Russia's future is still before her, while we have already used up a goodly measure of our future.

Many distinguished people discuss Russia in this issue. Nearly all of them have been there. Vice-President Wallace, Albert Rhys Williams, Maurice Hindus, Walter Duranty, Edgar Snow, and Vera Micheles Dean are representative of them.

Russian economic development, the war, the revolution, religion and the church, education, the arts, and other aspects of Russian life are described and pictured in photographs, cartoons, and drawings by Russian artists. Stress is placed upon Russo-American relations whose importance in a generation or two will probably far transcend what it has been hitherto.

Older youth will find this issue both enlightening and interesting.

#### PICTURE TREASURY OF ANCIENT GREECE

Thirty-two full-page paintings in color adorn the March issue of *The National Geographic Magazine*. They are the work of H. M. Herget and depict Greek life from Minoan and Mycenaean times down to the days of Archimedes. Each picture is accompanied by a full-page description. The whole makes a sketch of Greek history and a portfolio of the various aspects of Greek life. Every care was taken to observe historical accuracy. The usefulness and attractions of these pictures for those who study "The Glory That Was Greece" are inexhaustible.

Nearly thirty other illustrations of Greek life, ancient and modern, accompany two additional articles on Greece in this issue. From Edith Hamilton's book on *The Great Age of Greek Literature* are taken excerpts dealing mainly with the Greek interest in play and self-expression. "The Greeks were the first people in the world to play, and they played on a great scale." They had as lively an interest in contests of the mind as in athletics. The gymnasium and the theater attracted them as strongly as the games. Young people will enjoy "The Greek Way."

Equally interesting is the story of the intermingling of old and new in Greece today. The archaeologist, Richard Stillwell, formerly Director of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, recounts tales from his travels up and down the Aegean. By showing that present-day life often reflects Greek life of ancient times they breathe life into the textbook history of Ancient Greece. Dr. Stillwell's principal purpose is to reveal "Greece—the Birthplace of Science and Free Speech."

#### JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

The *Survey Midmonthly* for March is a "Juvenile

Delinquency" number. The eight contributors include Katherine F. Lenroot, distinguished Chief of the Children's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor; Professor Sheldon Glueck and his wife, whose researches and contributions in criminology have been among the most notable of our day; and Austin H. MacCormick, an outstanding figure in the field and at present executive director of the Osborne Association.

All important aspects of the problem are discussed and treated graphically in picture and chart. They include the causes of delinquency; typical cases of delinquents; the actual situation in representative communities; ideas and practices employed in various parts of the country; the contributions that can be made by parents, police, schools, social service agencies, and government in grappling with the problem.

As might be expected from this foremost social-service journal, the *Survey's* study of the problem is a valuable contribution which should not be overlooked by students of the crime problem.

#### SWEET LAND OF LIBERTY

Men and women preoccupied with the shortcomings of our nation at times disregard its unique achievements and the grandeur of its meaning to millions of lowly people elsewhere. Let an immigrant Greek, a small sweet-shop keeper, tell that meaning, as related by Carl Backer in his new book, *How New Will the Better World Be?*

I like it fine. I am a Greek Jew. So what? No one asks me am I a Greek Jew. I pay the rent on time? Yes. So I am okay. My candy and ice cream is good, high class. So the boys and girls should worry I am a Greek Jew. I am here as good as the next one. The children, they go to school. There is nothing to pay. They read and speak American better than me. Already I am not understanding the words they use. Already they are not Greeks any more, but Americans. In America is better chance for all poor people like me.

Should not these words be placed upon the bulletin boards of our classrooms?

## Book Reviews and Book Notes

Edited by RICHARD H. McFEELY

*The George School, George School, Pennsylvania*

*The Uses of Reason.* By Arthur E. Murphy. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1943. Pp. vii, 346. \$3.00.

Since the outbreak of the war numerous authors have tried to identify the intellectual and spiritual factors which produced, or helped to produce, the long crisis that finally turned into catastrophe. They have also pointed out what changes will have to take place in our ideas and attitudes if we are to overcome the evils from which society is suffering. Arthur E. Murphy, Head of the Department of Philosophy at the University of Illinois, joins these efforts with an insistent plea for better uses of reason. According to him, reason is not a self-sufficient source of enlightenment; in every field of human activity reason meets with data that are not created by it, e.g., the perceptions which connect us with the external world or the desires which move men in society. The specific function of reason is to penetrate these pre-rational data with its power of clarity, order, and coherence, and thus to raise them from the state of mere actuality to the level of cogency.

Each field has peculiar aspects, and reason has appropriate ways to deal with them. Thus there are several uses of reason as the title of the book indi-

cates. In science we are concerned with the question: "What is?" Ethics adds the question: "What ought to be?" The second question depends upon the first although it cannot be reduced to it. A scientist who claims that reason can only deal with the first, restricts its use unduly; a philosopher or a theologian who disregards the findings of science in his ethics overlooks the dependence of what ought to be upon that which is.

The author discusses at length the uses of reason in such fields as science, ethics, social action, philosophical or religious metaphysics, showing the relationships between them, but also stressing the peculiar structure of each, which requires a method of reasoning called contextual analysis; in it the elements of a given area of experience are conceived in their proper entity instead of applying to them antecedently fixed concepts. The social studies teacher will find many problems of extreme importance for his work treated in a thought provoking manner: What can be expected from scientific methods? Where does the competence of the psychologist end if he is "an observer of the behavior of rats"? What are legitimate attitudes of the social scientist toward social planning? Is appeal to emotions always repre-



hensible? What are the faults and undesirable consequences of propaganda analysis as practiced by the Institute? Are there ways to remove from attributes like true, good, just, the quotation marks with which relativism has ornated them in the name of objective science? Can one deal rationally with religious experiences?

In his answers the author holds a middle course between relativism denying reason the power of moral judgment and a philosophical or religious absolutism issuing their dicta on the basis of pure reason or superrational insights. He reviews a good deal of the literature pertaining to this complex of problems and shows great fairness in seeking for partial truth in theories which he cannot fully accept. He constantly stresses the responsibility (practicing what he preaches) of the philosopher and the social scientist toward the idea of truth as well as toward society, which is affected by their pronouncements. Murphy's moral philosophy is centered around Kant's Categorical Imperative. He follows Robert Lynd advocating participation of the scholar in social planning and action, but holds that the scholar's theoretical work remains his most valuable contribution to society since it must serve as the basis of any planning; he warns the scholar that he has to be aware of entering a new "context" when he passes from theory to practice.

The author does not appear to be one of those rare philosophers who are tormented by the dilemmas and paradoxes that arise at the margin of human thinking and existence. Hence the reader will not find himself exposed either to the fascination or to the perils which that kind of philosophizing provides. It certainly is to the author's credit that he, unlike many others, resists the temptation of posing irresponsibly, as such a thinker. He frankly confesses that he prefers to dwell in more secure regions; they seem to him sufficiently illuminated by the light of finite human reason so that average people of good will can see their way through the limited, but important demands which are encountered on that middle ground. To be sure, this intellectual climate is much healthier than that which produced the great storm of our days. One can only wish that it may permeate many classrooms of a democratic country.

HENRY BLAUTH

The George School  
George School, Pennsylvania

*The Morale of the American Revolutionary Army.*  
By Allen Bowman. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1943. Pp. 160. \$2.00.

Professor Bowman's monograph is excellent in its factuality, objectivity, and thoroughness of documentation. That approximately 35 per cent of the book is

devoted to references, many of which are primary sources, exemplifies the author's indefatigable industry and love of research. Furthermore, a careful study of this book shows that Bowman follows a systematic and workable pattern.

As might be expected from such an historical study, new light is thrown on the morale of the American forces, especially in showing how heterogeneous the situation really was. To learn what conclusions the author makes are important, for they may prove helpful in understanding morale problems involved in the present conflict between the Allied and the Axis forces.

Of course the American army was such "an irregular, fluctuating force" that morale was, more or less, a missing quantity. Then what little morale that existed was influenced by fear of militarism; it necessarily became a personal affair motivated by a deep patriotism and belief that the American soldier fought for a just cause. And, lastly, the army morale depended, in a large measure, on the leaders themselves, and particularly on the bravery, heroism, and impeccable character of Washington.

The reviewer wishes that Professor Bowman had stressed the role of clergymen, music, entertainment, and correspondence in helping to build up the morale of soldiers of the Revolutionary War; and that he had given some of his own opinions in interpreting his copious quotations. It is earnestly desired, moreover, that more historical accounts in the same field will follow this unusually fine pattern of research.

JANET BASSETT JOHNSON

Patterson Park High School  
Baltimore, Maryland

*Education in Wartime and After.* By School of Education Faculty, Stanford University. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1943. Pp. x, 465. \$3.00.

The School of Education Faculty at Stanford University have long been noted for their stimulating teaching and their interesting, provocative writing on educational problems and issues. This book is no exception to the rule. It is timely, thought-provoking, comprehensive in scope, clearly written, and practical. Teachers and administrators will find it extremely helpful as they attempt to rethink their own educational philosophy and educational programs.

This book is the result of a cooperative undertaking on the part of the faculty of the School of Education at Stanford. It was begun shortly after Pearl Harbor and represents the judgment of all of the faculty members who participated in its preparation.

The authors have tried to interpret the educational demands of war and of the postwar period. They have tried to formulate general policies suggested by

these demands, and to make practical suggestions and plans of educational organization and procedure. Their suggestions and recommendations are applicable to all kinds of schools, large or small, rural or urban, public or private.

This reviewer found Chapters I, VII, and XIV particularly stimulating. Chapter I, "The American People at War, Their Goals and Problems" presents a very clear picture of some of the dominant problems this nation faces. The analysis is forthright, and the challenge of the issues unmistakable. Chapter VIII, "The Subject Fields in Wartime Production" contains many sensible recommendations, but makes no pretense at being an exhaustive study. The suggestions concerning the importance of and practical ways of doing a more effective job in teaching consumer education, intercultural education, and the value of work experience will prove very helpful to all teachers concerned with these important areas. Chapter XIV has some important thoughts about "After War—What For Education?"

There are innumerable practical suggestions about books, films and other teaching aids throughout the book. It has an extensive index and some helpful recommendations in the bibliography.

There will be points of disagreement in which the position or suggestions of the authors run contrary to the thoughts and experiences of the reader. No reader will find just the "right" emphasis given to the various topics or problems that he would give, but all will find much to stimulate in this timely book.

R. H. McF.

*Japan: A Short Cultural History.* Rev. ed. By G. B. Sansom. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1943. Pp. xvi, 554.

This is a timely revision of one of the best books on Japan, written by a member of the Columbia University faculty. First issued in 1931, the book is a mine of authentic information concerning the history of Japan. The author has a knowledge of the Japanese language and literature. He is one of the few trained historians who can make thought-provoking comparisons between Japanese and European cultural development and appear equally at home in both fields (see p. 454).

The writer expounds no thesis. At the time when the popular mind is generating hateful and superficial conceptions about Japanese culture, Professor Sansom's detached, calm, scholarly and penetrating study is the more remarkable. It is free from the prevalent journalistic approach to Far Eastern history which too many readers on this subject have been taught to expect. In meeting the criticism that the book neglects the romantic and dramatic elements, the writer sums up his philosophy when he writes, "I do not see history as a pageant but as a

motley procession with some bright banners but many dingy emblems, marching out of step, and not very certain of its destination."

This historian has a fine ability for making generalizations which are at the same time rich, exciting, sound and scholarly. "We are told," for example, "that the East is unchanging, but there is little in the history of Japan to support that very dubious dictum. Nowhere have men more eagerly, nay recklessly, leaped to welcome new things and new notions" (p. 432). Thus as we have often suspected, Edward Potts Cheyney's famous suggestion of a historical law of impermanence seems to apply to the Far East. Many individual pages of this penetrating study provide keys to the understanding of Japan. Moreover, the generalizations are followed or preceded by exacting study of the minutiae of history, much of it hardly worth the time of every reader but all of it indicating the author's unusual grasp of his subject.

The book has seven chapters which divide Japanese history into fairly equal portions and give about equal space to each. The longest treatments are given, however, to the first section, Early History, and the last chapter, Yedo, which concludes with the year 1868.

The book stops there, much to the disappointment of the reader, though like the angels who fear to tread in some places, perhaps Dr. Sansom knew what he was doing. He has provided most excellent background material for the study of modern Japan, which should be read by anyone wanting a true understanding of that perplexing nation.

Notes appended to the volume take the place of bibliographies and incorporate comments upon contemporary problems. It is unfortunate that the bibliographies contained in the first edition were omitted in this revision. Few of its readers will have ready access to the "fuller critical lists in the oriental departments in most universities"; and since one purpose of every such book should be to stimulate each reader to read more books, the absence of virtually any mention of the author's sources seems a real weakness in an otherwise excellent book.

OSCAR G. DARLINGTON

Hofstra College  
Hempstead, Long Island

*Better Men for Better Times.* The Commission on American Citizenship of the Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., 1943. Pp. 125.

This interesting and significant volume draws its inspiration from the principles of Christian social teaching embodied in the Papal Encyclicals. It presents briefly but comprehensively the various phases of our complicated social structure—the family, education, social, political, and economic life—under

topical headings: The Basis of a Free Government; Society and Citizenship; The Fullness of Human Stature; The Cradle of Citizenship; "Our Daily Bread"; The Church: The Mystical Body of Christ; The Government of a Free People; Education for Christian Social Living; and The Vision of a Better World.

Throughout its pages there is an ever recurring theme: "Better times await the emergence of better men." Stress is laid on the innate worth and dignity of each individual in virtue of his origin, nature, and destiny. Each member of our free society is urged insistently to make himself actively aware not only of his civic, social, and economic rights and privileges, but also of his duties and obligations to God, country, and fellow-men. While returning thanks for the blessings of liberty and rejoicing in the successes of our democratic way of life, he should not be unmindful of the defects which need correction. Our economic system has not kept pace with our political progress. Foes within, among which are mentioned malnutrition, unemployment, sectionalism, neglect of higher values, and irreligion, must be vanquished or else the peace we are now struggling to obtain will be destroyed. This is the responsibility of society, but if society is to be reconstructed we must begin by reconstructing the individual.

To every man and woman then is entrusted the high and noble task of attaining personal integrity. Our founding fathers had faith in their fellow-men, they had the intelligence, the vision, the courage, and the constancy to provide what we as liberty-loving Americans should be devoted and selfless and energetic enough to preserve and strengthen. It remains for each individual to share the responsibility of seeing to it that "what America stands for, she increasingly becomes," and we are seriously reminded here that "what America professes to stand for, what America strives for, what America is fighting for, what America dreams, has neither reality nor substance apart from belief in God."

An outstanding characteristic is the simplicity of style and language. While furnishing an intellectual treat to the scholar, this book can be understood and appreciated by the average secondary school student. To the Right Reverend Monsignor George Johnson, of the Department of Education of The Catholic University of America, and to his collaborator in this work, Doctor Robert J. Slavin, O.P., of the Department of Philosophy of the same institution, due credit should be given for clearly and vividly presenting the problems which are facing Christian education today and for offering a "reasonable solution."

To those who are engaged in the work of Christian education, to those who wish to know something

about the social teachings of the Catholic Church, and to those who would mold their lives in accordance with the mind of the Church, *Better Men for Better Times* should prove a valuable guide.

SISTER MARY GRACE

Hallahan Catholic Girls' High School  
Philadelphia

*Elementary Topography and Map Reading.* By Samuel L. Greitzer. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1944. Pp. vii, 157. \$1.60.

The author is an instructor in mathematics and navigation in the High School of Science, New York City. This text is prepared for use in secondary schools. It should be useful in some of the present armed forces training programs.

The book is composed of ten chapters, a bibliography, and an index. The chapters are Problems of Map Making, Applications of Mathematics to Map Reading, Mapping the Earth, Elements of Topographic Mapping, Direction and Azimuth, Using Topographic Maps, Elevation and Relief, Applications from Contouring Theory, Map Reading in the Field, and Aerial Photographs and Special Maps.

The material is clearly and suitably written for high school students. Some basic mathematical review work may seem too elementary for secondary students, but if one has tried to teach map reading the inclusion of elementary mathematics is appreciated. If the average student masters fifty per cent of the material presented, he may feel certain that he has a good foundation in elementary map reading.

Some non-geographical terms are used throughout the volume; the author explains proportions, coordinates on the earth, and area preserving maps instead of the usual geographic terminology of scales, geographic grid, and equal area maps. The text was prepared with maps on the scale of 1:28,800 and the publication is printed on a scale one-half the original or 1:57,600. All maps have the original scale indicated at the base and questions in the exercises at the end of the chapters are on the basis of the original scale. The author cannot be held responsible for such an error, but it is unfortunate that such an unstandard scale was used in the beginning because this does not correspond to any scale used by the United States Army or other mapping agencies. Fortunately, the author calls attention to the change of scale in the preface. Attention should have been called to topographic maps published by the United States Geological Survey for study of the local topography and aerial photographs of local areas usually available through the state planning boards. Most inexperienced teachers of map work are not familiar with such sources of local maps and aerial photographs.

This volume is a fine contribution for use in the



secondary school and for some of the present armed forces training programs. Its good qualities far outweigh a few typographical errors, use of some non-geographical terms, and maps incorrectly designated as to scale.

LEROY O. MYERS

Pennsylvania State College  
State College, Pennsylvania

*Twentieth Century United States: A History.* By Jeannette P. Nichols. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1943. Pp. lxxi, 434. \$3.50.

In these days when we are enveloped in clouds of war we have difficulty in seeing a succession of events in perspective. The unexpected and strange events that happen in rapid-fire succession, at least for the moment, appear to be crises. Viewed as a part of the past four decades of the United States panorama, these "crises" of our national scene assume their proper proportions. The author wants it clearly understood that history does not really occur by chronological periods. It is only for the sake of convenience and thorough treatment that she has limited the study of recent United States history to the twentieth century.

Some one major idea or set of ideas that has been able to command general confidence sets the course of a nation. That course may veer to right or left, or take a middle-of-the-road direction, according to the dominant idea. Since the aspirations, the disappointments, the discoveries, the errors, the insights and the disillusionments of the preceding century have done so much to determine the dominant ideas of twentieth century United States, the first two chapters are devoted to a survey of "What Went Before."

By the dawn of the new century the idea of progressivism had seized the minds of our nation's leaders and would-be leaders. That movement towards liberal change gained momentum that was increasing until involvement in World War I put on the brake. After being united into a dynamic whole by the noble ideal of "making the world safe for democracy," this nation suffered a terrific lapse in devotion to great ideas. Shaking off the regimentation of a wartime order, the nation did not return to the pioneering progressivism of pre-war days; but cynically followed the false-gods of materialism and selfishness.

The jolt of economic depression caused a rallying of the American community to the common cause once again. This time the obsessing idea became a faith in the flexibility of American institutions to come to grips with a life and death struggle as it had in earlier national crises. That New Deal to whom was entrusted the responsibility of solving the problems of economic depression was further given a

vote of confidence in 1940 to continue in the face of international storm. The final two chapters of the book survey the sweeping reorganization that World War II has imposed on United States. Dr. Nichols admits the difficulty of accurate interpretation of the war at such close range. However, she has taken the confusion of information and given it an order that outlines what our country is doing in this global war.

Written as a "record of thoroughly human experience," the book certainly lives up to that intended nature. Covering cultural, social, economic, political and diplomatic aspects of a nation's life, it gives a fairly well balanced account. The diplomatic phase appears less adequately treated than some of the others. The survey of each of these aspects of human life is so concisely written that every paragraph is pregnant with thought. The economic and social fields are so well done that the book can be used as a source-book of facts on those areas. As a general history, it presupposes a prior knowledge of the content and implications of many events; and simply tries to relate them all to the stream of history.

Each chapter has a very comprehensive list of pertinent references. To further aid the reader in a more thorough study, a classified bibliography, called "Reading Plan," is included at the close of the book. Following that is a "Book List" (covering twenty-two pages), arranged according to an alphabetical listing of authors. Well-selected maps, graphs, cartoons and photographs aid the reader. The gist of interpretation that pervades each chapter may be gained by reading the preview paragraph that introduces the chapter. To help a person in finding specific information there is a well-organized index.

Many personality sidelights or thumbnail sketches, plus the thoroughly human interests related, make the book enjoyable to the layman. For him who desires to understand where we are and how we have arrived here, this will meet the need. For the student of social science there is much to challenge further thought and investigation.

JOHN C. APPEL

Newton High School  
Newton, Pennsylvania

*Labor's Voice in the Cabinet: A History of the Department of Labor from Its Origin to 1921.* By John Lombardi. New York: Columbia University Press, 1942. Pp. 370. \$4.00.

Dr. Lombardi has written a valuable book on the influence of organized labor in the executive and legislative branches of the national government.

The author traces rather carefully the growth of the movement to establish a Department of Labor, which originated in the 1860's, but was not crowned with success until March 4, 1913. He records each step in the long but successful fight to secure for la-

bor a full fledged cabinet member. Labor organized, agitated, and lobbied for its cause. The two major political parties were, at first, somewhat indifferent to the idea. Later they moved cautiously toward the movement.

The Federal Bureau of Labor was created in 1884 and placed in the Department of Interior. Carroll D. Wright, who was at the time Chief of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor, headed the Federal Bureau and, at the same time, retained his position in Massachusetts too. He regarded his new federal position as being largely a fact finding one. What is more important, contends the author, Wright had the confidence and respect of labor. He became an outstanding man in labor statistics, and he also influenced labor policies.

Although the Department of Labor and Commerce was created in 1903, labor itself was not altogether pleased. The Federation's Committee, for example, reported:

That labor statistics, in coming through any other department of government will, even with the best intention on the part of the secretary of such department, be colored to a sufficient extent to thereby lose its value. (p. 59).

The fight for a separate labor department was successful in 1913. Representative William B. Wilson became the first Secretary of the new Department.

The author now turns to the rising opposition of labor to immigration. Labor advocated strict immigration regulation and more rigid naturalization laws. He also discusses the efforts of the Secretary of the Department to promote employment, adjust wages and secure justice.

The First World War brought new duties and general confusion to the Secretary and to labor leaders alike. Secretary Wilson tried hard to meet the increased requirements imposed upon him by the war and also by the coming of the peace. New labor bureaus were created that helped to unify policies and the enlarged duties of the Department were more effectively administered.

The book is divided into five parts and contains fifteen excellent chapters. The bibliography and index are satisfactory.

GEORGE D. HARMON

Lehigh University  
Bethlehem, Pennsylvania

*The Growth of the Red Army.* By D. Fedotoff White. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1944. Pp. xiv, 486. \$3.75.

History and social studies teachers have been asked probably scores of times by their pupils questions about the Russian Army. They, like their pupils, have probably wondered at its might, its recovery after the threat of defeat at Moscow in 1941, and

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again at Stalingrad in 1942. The story of this army and the sources of its strength are well told by the author, D. Fedotoff White, in this very readable, interesting, and informative book.

The author makes no claims to have written the "definitive" study of the Red Army. He has given the reader a careful analysis of the evolution of its present organization, and of the trials through which it passed in the critical years from 1918-1939. Although he ends his account before the army had been thoroughly tested by the intense fires of the present critical struggle, the reader is led to an understanding of the strength and the recuperative powers of the Red Army which have amazed the world.

The author, a former officer in the Imperial Navy, has long been a discriminating student of the Russian Army and his book has added much of value to our knowledge of it. It is a carefully documented study and contains a thorough index which adds to its value as a reference book.

R. H. McF.

*Dictionary of Sociology.* Edited by Henry Pratt Fairchild. New York: Philosophical Library, 1944. Pp. 342. \$6.00.

In no other field of study is there a greater need for a careful definition of words and terms than in the social studies, especially in sociology. Too often thinking is confused and progress in the solution of

problems is slowed down because of disagreement over terms that have not been precisely defined. This new dictionary makes a valuable and much needed contribution to the field of sociology. Herein one can find definitions of terms and concepts which form the working tools of sociologists. These definitions are stated simply and leave no question as to their meaning as they have been defined by some of the outstanding sociologists of the country.

Such a book is a "must" for college and secondary school libraries. It will be a great boon to teachers and students, librarians, research workers, social workers, guidance counsellors and all others who read and study about human relations. This book does for the field of sociology the same valued service which Warren's *Dictionary of Psychology* does for the field of psychology.

R. H. McF.

*Encyclopedia of Child Guidance.* Edited by Ralph B. Winn. New York: The Philosophical Library, 1943. Pp. xvi, 456. \$7.50.

Here is a book that will prove to be valuable to all who work and live with children. It is designed to be a standard reference book in the field of child guidance, and deals with all phases of such guidance and its many ramifications in psychiatry, psychology, education, social and clinical work. Over fifty outstanding men and women, recognized authorities in their work with children and in the field of psychology and psychiatry have contributed to make this a very useful volume.

#### PERTINENT PAMPHLETS

*The Amazon: A New Frontier?* By Earl Parker Hanson. New York: Foreign Policy Association, March, 1944. Pp. 96. 25 cents.

Number 45 of the Headline Series, published by the Foreign Policy Association.

*America at War.* By Elizabeth Donnan. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1944. Pp. 44.

Economic aspects of the United States in World War II.

#### CURRENT PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

*The University and the Modern World.* By Arnold S. Nash. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944. Pp. xxiv, 312. \$2.50.

The starting point in this book is the contention that the university like the world of which it is a part has reached a crisis. It is the thesis of the author that the modern university has built its curriculum and elaborated its educational procedures upon the basis of an inadequate philosophy.

*Our Air-Age World: A Textbook in Global Geography.* By Leonard A. Packard, Bruce Overton and Ben D. Wood. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944. Pp. ix, 838. Illustrated. \$2.80.

A new air-age world geography textbook that is comprehensive, excellently written and well illustrated. Written to prepare youth for the world of tomorrow. Contains a good index.

*The American Way: Selections from the Public Addresses and Papers of Franklin D. Roosevelt.* Edited by Dagobert D. Runes. New York: Philosophical Library, 1944. Pp. 71. \$1.50.

Designed to present a clearer picture of the inner motives, the personal outlook and the social philosophy of President Roosevelt.

*Your Life in a Democracy.* By Howard E. Brown. Chicago: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1944. Pp. xi, 435. Illustrated. \$1.80.

Designed for use in the orientation, guidance or community civics course.

*The Coal Industry.* By Josephine Perry. New York: Longmans, Green and Company. Pp. 128. Illustrated. \$1.75.

One of the America at Work Series. Illustrated with photographs.

*Boys in Men's Shoes: A World of Working Children.* By Harry E. Burroughs. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944. Pp. xx, 370. Illustrated. \$3.50.

A description of the beginning, aims, scope, and achievements of Boston's Burroughs Newsboys Foundation and its affiliated Agassiz Village in the wilds of Maine.

*New Hope for Human Unity.* By Henry Wyman Holmes. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944. Pp. vii, 111. \$1.50.

The sixteenth volume in the Kappa Delta Pi Lecture Series. Professor Holmes presents concrete suggestions for achieving essential unity.

*Trends in European Social Legislation Between the Two World Wars.* By Alexander Lorch. New York: Institute of Comparative Law, 1943. Pp. 148. \$2.00.

Publication Number III of the Institute of Comparative Law. This book is a comparative study of the labor legislation in republican Germany and the social reforms in France under the Popular Front government.



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## Contents

Geopolitics After Hitler	Russell H. Fifield	243
Race Can Work Toward Democracy	Norman D. Humphrey	246
The Relation Between Indoctrination and the Teaching of Democracy	Benjamin Brickman	248
Democratic School Administration	Lillian C. Parham	252
Revised Historical Viewpoints	Ralph B. Guinness	255
China and the Chinese	John R. Craf	257
Education: The Army (G.I.) Way	Irwin A. Eckhauser	262
Who Thinks as I Do?	Jeannette P. Nichols	264
Latin America and the Postwar Era	Frances Norene Ahl	266
An Analysis of Standardized American History Tests	Joe Park	267
On One Phase of the Nature and Causes of War	R. E. Swindler	269
Visual and Other Aids	Maurice P. Hunt	270
News and Comment	Morris Wolf	272
Book Reviews and Book Notes	Richard H. McFeely	278
Current Publications Received		287

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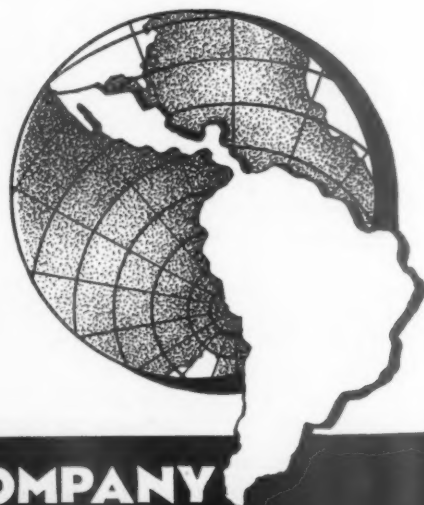
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